

The University of Chicago

FRANCISCAN EDUCATION AND THE
SOCIAL ORDER IN SPANISH
NORTH AMERICA (1502-1821)

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
JUNE, 1945

By
PIUS JOSEPH BARTH

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PREFACE

The Franciscan Order, founded in the early thirteenth century for personal betterment, social reform, and missionary endeavor, was the first large agency to deal with the Christianization and civilization of the native tribes of Spanish North America. Its leaders were granted civil and ecclesiastical freedom in choosing such means as they considered best suited to accomplish their two-fold major objective: Christianization and civilization.

As pioneers the Friars Minor (another name for Franciscans) had primary face-to-face relationships with the pagan aboriginal social order as they accompanied or followed the Spanish conquerors who inched their way persistently, not only through the West Indies, but also through the vast stretches of South and Middle America, culminating their activities in the southern borderlands and the western and eastern coastal regions of the present United States. It seems to have been the design and plan of the sons of St. Francis permanently to adjust the predominant tribal value system to the ideology they had brought from Christian Spain not only through preaching and the sacred ministry, but also through formal institutionalized educational agencies.

Working under laboratory conditions and experimenting as they pioneered, the fathers and brothers hoped to see a new social order emerge whose social institutions would be integrated by religious and societal values imported from Christian Europe. To achieve the realization of this ideal required continuous thoughtful planning and persistent adjustment to new situations. Careful examination of the evidence to be presented in this study points to a fairly consistent policy of selecting formal education as a major factor in implementing the new social order so as to make it not only structurally imitative of Western Europe but particularly dynamic in its influence on societal inter-action without, however, disregarding entirely the actual workings of the culture that was found.

In the more than seven hundred years of the Franciscan

Order's existence it has set up educational institutions both for its own members and for seculars; these have largely mirrored the social order in which they existed. But, from acquaintance with Franciscan educational history in missionary environments the writer inclines toward the hypothesis that Franciscan education can play a dynamic role in social planning and societal change and he believes this hypothesis substantiated by factual evidence in the case of Spanish North America where Franciscan leaders seem to have planned institutionalized education precisely as a dynamic factor in reforming the social order.

This dissertation is not primarily intended to be a history or chronicle of Franciscan schools in Spanish North America but will try to relate the educational patterns to the beginning contacts of the two social orders in the various principal areas from the coming of the first friars in 1502 until 1821, the cessation date of Spain's colonial empire in North America. The writer has been fortunate in conferring with outstanding authorities on Spanish America and in finding considerable historical material in various archives and libraries of the United States and Mexico pertaining to the structure and function of these Franciscan educational institutions.

The writer is particularly grateful for the help he has received in pursuing this study. He wishes to single out for special mention the Franciscan superiors, Fr. Matthias Faust, Delegate-General of New York City, Fr. Wenceslaus Krzycki, of St. Louis, Missouri, and Fr. Ferdinand Ortiz, of Coyoacán, D.F., Mexico. Special acknowledgment is due to the professors of the University of Chicago who directed this dissertation, especially to Professors Newton Edwards, John Dale Russell, J. Fred Rippy, William C. Reavis, and to Professor Ralph W. Tyler, Chairman of the Department of Education.

On his visits to various libraries and archives in the United States and Mexico the author was always kindly received and wishes that he could here present the complete list of the persons, prominent and obscure, who have in some wise assisted him.

Acknowledgments of special assistance rendered are due to the personnel of the following libraries and archives:

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 Mariano Cuevas, S.J., Collection
 Frederico Gomez de Orozco Collection
 Ezechiel Chavez Collection
 Eduardo Enrique Rios Collection
 Conway Collection
 Alberto Maria Carreño Collection

To these institutions, their personnel, and the persons specifically mentioned the writer finds himself very deeply indebted for basic source materials and constructive suggestions, and he hopes that those whose names have been inadvertently omitted will not consider him ungrateful.

It is not an easy task to show the interplay between the pattern of Franciscan education and the social order; this is here understood to consist not simply in primary social relationships of the face-to-face variety, but is viewed as a body of integrated social institutions such as the family, church, school, community, economy, and civil government, bound together by some predominant value system such as Christianity or aboriginal com-

munism. The primary face-to-face relationships are the end products of the large social institutions mentioned any of which, taken singly, is usually the product of the others. Since the vital force in Western Europe at the time of the Cortesian conquest was Christianity, it was to be expected that the Franciscan schools founded in the New World would be heavily weighted with Christian doctrine so that in the society which was planned by the conquerors they could become a dynamic force producing a counterflow of consequences upon the extant social order. In this sense the schools did not drift with the existing tide but proved themselves instruments of social progress as viewed by their founders. To the Franciscans planning was important, but more important than planning was their plan, namely, a Christian society.

Through this study the writer hopes:

1. To make a small contribution to a frequently neglected area of educational history in colonial America.
2. To add a documented illustration to the field of the school and the social order.
3. To promote a more definite concept both of Franciscan education and educational planning.
4. To show--through an acquaintance with past achievement--what might be done by Franciscan institutionalized education to analogous social orders in areas of missionary endeavor.
5. To advance ever so little the good cause of Latin American understanding and international intellectual co-operation by a study of early Latin American education.

Pius J. Barth

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CHAPTER I

THE FRANCISCAN MOVEMENT AND EDUCATION

The Franciscan Order had its inception as part of the mendicant movement of the early thirteenth century designed to effect both personal spiritual renewal and social reform. The spirit which animated the founding of the Order by St. Francis Bernardone of Assisi in 1208 was evangelical in the sense that it sought to accomplish its purposes by a strict conformity to the Gospel of Christ.

The unity and universality of religious loyalty in thirteenth century Europe was threatened by political, economic, and social conditions which were antithetical to the practice of the Christian way of life. The Franciscan message was directed toward the amelioration of these conditions especially among the masses. Mass instruction in a value system consonant with the principles of a Christian social order was designed to implement the social ideals of Francis at first informally, but later through a more systematic and definitive manner in pulpit and classroom.

A glance at the early Franciscans in England shows them analyzing both the spiritual and practical situation in the care of souls and filling a wide sphere of activity almost totally neglected by the contemplative monks and the secular clergy.

Combining the contemplative with the active life in a truly evangelical manner, the friars set higher standards for the monks and clergy as well as for the people. They demonstrated how the contemplative and the active might be combined unto self-sanctification and the good of others. That is why the saintly Bishop Grosseteste took to them so kindly,¹ and that is why they were everywhere so beloved of the people.

For this mission the Franciscans had to be educated as well as to educate. Throughout the history of the Order there has

¹Victor G. Green, O.M.Cap., The Franciscans in Medieval English Life (1224-1348), p. 13. Franciscan Studies, Vol. XX. Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1939.

been a rationalization of a practical sort regarding the Franciscan rule's de-emphasis of formal higher learning. Francis of Assisi relied more upon the power of example than he did upon the force of instruction to accomplish the shifting of the value system of thirteenth century society. Those who were ignorant of letters and knowledge, he wrote, ought not to seek them, but he showed great tolerance and gave encouragement to those brethren who, like Anthony of Padua and Adam Marsh, considered university studies, especially the sacred sciences, indispensable for giving both clergy and laity a rational understanding of their faith without which the Christian way of life is very superficial and sporadic.

The controversy or contradiction which might be found between the ideals of the Franciscan spirit toward education and the practical pursuit of knowledge by the friars at Bologna, Paris, and Oxford is largely indicative of the tolerance, opportunism, and adjustability which has made the Franciscan Order an influential agency in many and varied social orders. Whether or not Francis grasped the implications of higher education for his friars, it is certain that he did not condemn such advanced learning as long as the apostolic virtues of prayer, poverty, and humility of spirit kept it company. Furthermore, the friars were importuned by Francis to be constantly attuned to the wishes of the Holy See. Roger Bacon writing in 1271 boasts that it was due mainly to his Order and the Dominicans that the decrees on higher education of the Fourth Lateran Council had been carried out in so many places and to such an extent; in fact he speaks of the "two teaching orders," namely, the Franciscans and the Dominicans.¹ When science and the Arabian Aristotle made their way into the medieval universities Franciscan scholars were on the spot to grapple with the intellectual problems presented; among these friars were St. Anthony of Padua and Peter Catani at Bologna, Agnellus of Fisa, Occam, Adam Marsh, Eccleston, Roger Bacon at Oxford, Alexander of Hales, Haymo of Faversham, and John de Rupella at Paris. Through their efforts and those of Aquinas and Albert the Great the philosophy of Aristotle became the companion and handmaiden of theology.

¹Hilarin Felder, O.M.Cap., The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi, pp. 364 et seq. Translated by Berchmans Bittle, O.M.Cap. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1925.

Even acknowledging the considerable opposition of the so-called spirituals who considered Franciscanism suffering from this infiltration of education and profane knowledge, one cannot but conclude that, practically speaking, the Franciscan Order as an arm of the Church began its first century with the deep conviction that in the spiritual conquest and the apostolate of souls the intellectual emphasis and its communication through the educational process must accompany good example and the practice of piety.

This principle is substantiated also in the transformation of the masses and in the conversions effected in non-Christian lands. In the enthusiasm of those first years the primary face-to-face relationships with Francis or with those who had seen and heard Francis could well be relied upon to provide competent guidance, but soon that spirit had to be set in an institutional pattern. This change was largely effected through the leadership of St. Bonaventure.¹ In the process of organization there was an addition to the apostolic ideal of the founder; this might be termed the educational ideal. It came not from within but from those who sought and secured admission to the new society; these were the university men from many walks of life, who, after their entrance, made the humble and simple Franciscan Order an order of students.

In a surprisingly short time many of the learned and cultured were wearing the habit of the Friars Minor; and so rapidly did the number of priests increase within the order, that before long the priests outnumbered the laics and prevailed over them. As the order assumed the responsibilities and duties of the priesthood, it became increasingly evident that education was an imperative need. Furthermore, the peculiar circumstances of those hectic times and a very pronounced papal policy were steadily pushing the order further and further into the current of studies, so strong in medieval Christendom. The result of all this was a real change and transformation from the original form of an order of Apostles to an organized body or an ordo studens.²

Francis of Assisi, in founding his international organiza-

¹Bonaventure, O.F.M., "Epistola de tribus quaestionibus," *Opera omnia*, VIII, No. 13, 336 (1270?). Published Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) Italy: 1882-1902.

²Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., "The Spirit of Franciscan Philosophy," *Franciscan Studies*, XXIII (September, 1942), 217. St. Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Educational Conference, St. Bonaventure College.

tion according to the Gospel of Christ hoped to bring the doctrine and civilization of Christianity to those ignorant thereof, while, through practical exemplification of that teaching in the social virtues, he desired to regain those who knew Christ but did not live according to his precepts. To this movement which took in the whole gamut of human living, Francis brought the genius and enthusiasm of his nature, the joy and freedom of his spirit, together with an abiding devotion to God and loving trust in humanity.¹ If Renan's statement be true, that "after Christianity the work of the Franciscans has called forth the greatest popular movement that history knows,"² this success must largely be ascribed to Francis Bernardone whose enthusiasm and sense of human freedom and equality made that Order an ever lengthening shadow of himself in its energetic zeal for preserving inviolable the dignity of the human person and for improving the environment and enlarging the opportunities for the upward mobility of socially submerged classes. Since the founding of the Franciscan Order was a social act, and since its influences ran counter to the power controls being exercised over the individual by the emerging city states, one cannot be considered too bold in noting a relationship between the Franciscan movement and the beginnings of a free citizenry.³ In Italy and in Great Britain, but especially in Great Britain which gave the Franciscan Order almost all its foremost early scholars, Franciscans first clearly formulated those ideas which led to the beginnings of democracy and the constitutional state.⁴

But for such leadership formal institutionalized education was essential. Regardless of the chronic dispute whether formal learning has ever been conceived as a specific objective of the Friars Minor, it is quite inconceivable, that a movement attempting to change or modify existing social orders according to

¹Heribert Holzapfel, O.F.M., Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens, p. 14. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909.

²Ernest Renan, Nouvelles études d'histoire religieuse, p. 341. Paris: Levy Frères, 1884; Holzapfel, op. cit., pp. 230-232.

³Friedrich Glaser, Die Franziskanische Bewegung: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Socialer Reformideen im Mittelalter, p. 55. Berlin und Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1903; Holzapfel, op. cit., p. 234.

⁴Ibid., p. 234.

its value system, could hope for much real success without close attention to the study of the culture to be changed or modified and to the educational methods employable in the amelioration of the social conditions found. We might well expect, however, that the Franciscan emphasis in the school program would be somewhat individualistic; whereas the Dominicans placed knowledge first, the Franciscan spirit was restless for action, but that activity had to be rationally controlled through knowledge and education.¹ This Franciscan philosophy of education was well expressed by an early scholar and general superior of the Friars Minor, St. Bonaventure, when he declared that "knowledge is not only useful for the education of others but also for one's personal instruction. . . ."² The Franciscan concept, therefore, favors a meaningful and functional educational program.

The early histories of such universities as Bologna, Paris, and Oxford show that the Franciscans participated in the educational activities of these institutions both as students and teachers. Anthony of Padua was approved by Francis himself as the first Franciscan professor of theology at Bologna when that seat of learning in Italian Europe boasted of 10,000 students.³ Great jurists from among the faculty and graduates were admitted to the Order, including Peter Catani who was appointed vicar general by St. Francis. This first-hand contact of the new movement with the University of Bologna, which had the approval of the founder of Franciscanism, occasioned or at least accelerated the organization of numerous Franciscan houses of study in Italy, especially in Rome, Rieti, Naples, Pisa, and Siena.⁴ The Order grew rapidly, numbering over 5,000 before 1220.

In 1219, seven years before the death of St. Francis, Franciscan students were in Paris, and in a few years a friary was built on the campus of the University of Paris for housing

¹Hilarin Felder, O.F.M. Cap., Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskaner Orden bis um die Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, pp. 13, 14, 27. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904.

²Bonaventure, O.F.M., "Determinaciones quaestionum circa regulam Fratrum Minorum," Opera, VIII, quaestio 3, 339.

³Heinrich Denifle, Die Universitaeten des Mittelalters, I, 138. Berlin: Weidmann, 1885; Felder, Geschichte, pp. 131-139.

⁴Felder, Geschichte, p. 154.

two hundred and fourteen student-friars and eight Franciscan professors, including Haymo of Faversham.¹ Two distinct Franciscan university colleges are identified by historians, the first under the direction of Alexander of Hales, O.F.M., and the second in charge of Jean de la Rochelle (Rupella), O.F.M. The influence of the Parisian university on studies within the Franciscan Order is shown especially in the organization of the studium generale, which was attended by friars not only from the French and German provinces but also by those from more distant regions.

In 1224 through the initiative of Friar Agnellus of Pisa, O.F.M., nine friars came from Paris to Oxford and with the aid of Robert Grosstête, an instructor there, organized a little corporate Franciscan college, which seems later to have evolved into a public university college, at first under the guidance of Grosstête, and then under their own magistri regentes, including on its faculty Friars Adam Marsh (Marisco), Roger Bacon, Eccleston, Duns Scotus, William Occam, and others who had considerable influence in the development of Oxford, in the evolution of the democratic national ideal, and in the organization of the rational foundations of faith.²

As the Order grew in strength despite its poverty, Franciscans were found studying at Cambridge where in the course of time seventy-four friars were successively university professors; Giovanni del Pian dei Carpinì founded the Franciscan school at Magdeburg in 1228, and within a brief period, Strasbourg, Hildesheim, Ratisbon, and Augsburg became centers of Franciscan learning, so that the occupancy of university chairs north of the Alps became so noticeable that it was considered scandalous by the so-called spiritual party within the Order, who seemed to consider learning antithetical to Franciscanism.³

Later on, other Franciscans followed in this scholarly tradition at Cologne and Salamanca and still later at the University of Alcalá (Complutensis) founded shortly after 1500 by the

¹Ibid., pp. 159, 163.

²Ibid., pp. 170, 171, 254, 301, 304; Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., The Franciscan Message to the World, pp. 48-49. Translated by Henry Louis Hughes. London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, Ltd., 1935.

³Felder, Geschichte, p. 313; Gemelli, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

Franciscan, Cardinal Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, well recognized for his own scholarly accomplishments and for promoting advanced education in Castile.¹

The organization of Franciscan higher education divided the schools into the studium generale, open to student-friars from many provinces, and the studium particulare, restricted to students of its own province. Another division might be made between public schools open to seculars like the cathedral schools, and non-public schools open only to members of the Franciscan Order.

There were certain preliminary studies which had to be successfully completed before the students could enter these higher schools or before candidates could enter the Franciscan novitiate. Those admitted had first of all to be pueri literati, able to read, write, and compute; those entering the novitiate had also to master the so-called trivium, consisting of grammar, logic, and rhetoric.² Commonly, there were three gradations of these preliminary studies called after the names or authors of the texts which were used. The first grade was that of the tabulistae, where skills in reading, writing, and numbers were developed and a knowledge of the catechism, common prayers, the Latin psalter, and some of the ancient fables was acquired. The second graders or donatistae studied grammar and formal Latin together with verses and proverbs, using both the question-answer and conversational methods. The highest grade of the preparatory curriculum, that of the alexandristae, comprised advanced grammar, logic, and rhetoric. These studies were usually finished by age sixteen, so that the successful youth could then enter the university or the novitiate to pursue his higher education.³

The curriculums of the universities and Franciscan houses of study had course offerings in the liberal arts, philosophy, civil and canon law, medicine and natural sciences, and theology, the culminating and integrating science, as illustrated by the accompanying sketch made by Friar Didacus Valades, O.F.M., for his book, Rhetorica Christiana, which he published at Perugia in 1579.

¹Antonio Daza, Quarta parte de la cronica general de nuestro Padre San Francisco y su apostolica orden, Lib. I, pp. 95-101. San Francisco de Valladolid, 1611.

²Felder, Geschichte, p. 336.

³Ibid., p. 340.



Fig. 1.--Franciscan hierarchical concept of learning.
According to Fray Valades, O.F.M.--1579.

The liberal arts consisted of the communicative branches, such as speech, dialectics, and other language arts, and the quantitative or mathematical branches, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, frequently referred to as the quadrivium. Poetry, liturgy, and other arts were often added for completeness. In philosophy, the Franciscans, following the general Greek-Arabian trend of the times veered toward the Platonic-Augustinian solution of disputed questions, and, apparently, trying to satisfy the spirituals within their ranks who fought the inroads of the pagan Aristotle, turned at times to mysticism.¹ There were few outstanding civil and canon lawyers among the friars during the first centuries of the Franciscan Order's existence, and none whose specific excellence in medicine deserves a special citation, while the experimental scientific approach of Friar Roger Bacon, O.F.M., to the problems of the biological and physical universe is too well known to need further elaboration.

Theology, which in late medieval times consisted almost entirely of Sacred Scripture and patristics, had excellent Franciscan exponents in Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, and Alexander of Hales whose Summa antedates that of Aquinas. Their writings and teaching, in which they followed the exegetical-historical method, illustrate how the entire Franciscan educational program was integrated in theology and religion, which, in the words of Roger Bacon, "desires all human wisdom,"² as a prerequisite. Hence, Bacon insists on preparatory studies before the novices are admitted to theology.

Franciscan teaching personnel, usually referred to as lecturers, taken from the respective province for the studium particulare, and from any province for the studium generale, were bachelors or masters trained at the universities who possessed the license to teach, or were titled doctors of the universal church.³ They were selected on the basis of intelligence, health, speaking voice, exemplary conduct, and peaceful disposition, and were

¹ Ibid., pp. 457, 472.

² Ibid., pp. 392, 513, 511, 380, 384; Roger Bacon, O.F.M., "Compendium studii philosophici," Part III of Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita, I, cap. v, 426 (Brewer edition, 1290?). London: Longman Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859.

³ Felder, Geschichte, pp. 361-362.

granted privileges of rank and exemptions from certain rules of religious discipline.¹

Teaching methods at the colleges, which were at first merely residence halls with book collections, consisted mainly in lectures and disputations at which the students took copious notes which usually resulted in their own personal textbooks. There was a time set aside for silent study and the noting of difficulties, followed by a period of review in the form of a dialogue or question and answer recitation. At times both teachers and students were given an opportunity to preach to the people, especially on theological matters, to test their ability at clearly expressing to the uneducated what had been discussed in the halls of learning. The master or lector was usually assisted by a bachelor or sub-lector, who acted in the capacity of a dean of students supervising discipline in the dining-room, dormitories, infirmary, library, and chapel, and performing not a few of the duties assigned in modern times to the school custodian or janitor.²

Such were the beginnings, the evolution, and the "status quo ante" of Franciscan education, when the decline of scholasticism in the fifteenth century and the recurrent divisions within the family of St. Francis, brought about a temporary collapse of intellectual achievement. Prominent among the causes of this educational eclipse was the apparent victory of the spirituals who demanded that the Friars Minor follow a more monastic or contemplative life which, in their opinion, was threatened by educational pursuits.

Gemelli, the present Franciscan rector of the Catholic University of Milan takes these dissident spirituals to task for their failure "to realize that learning was precisely in its proper place in the primitive dwellings of the money-less, bare-footed friars," since, as he continues, "a real student must have a heart free of other cares, desiring neither material gain, pleasure, nor worldly honors; as only through disinterested love can he ever win the prize of truth . . . to be a man of learning was by no means incompatible with being a Franciscan."³ Long

¹Ibid., p. 364.

²Ibid., pp. 371-372.

³Gemelli, op. cit., p. 49.

before Gemelli, and even while the controversy was at its height, Cardinal James of Vitry upbraided those friars who de-emphasized studies on the pretext that learning might lead to pride. He calls that attitude one of indolence and reminds the "spirituals" that exalted virtue can also lead to pride and the loss of spiritual docility.¹

This narrow viewpoint of the so-called "spirituals" had its effect also on the Spanish friars and is largely responsible for the historical fact that Franciscans as a group had very little to do with the many universities and colleges which existed in fifteenth century Spain. This state of educational affairs presents a striking contrast to the flourishing picture viewed two centuries earlier, when, for example, in 1290 the Franciscan minister general sent one of his friars, Raymond Lull of Majorca, to lecture in all the convents of the Franciscan Order.²

But the Franciscan movement can be evaluated only in its total picture. Education is only part of its program and has risen and fallen in its influence because of adjustments necessitated either by conflicting movements within the organization or opportune conformity with the requirements of a contemporary social order. But, withal, the spirit of the Franciscan ideal remains rooted in the religious movement inaugurated by Francis Bernardone in the early thirteenth century.³

While the simple apostolic ideal was greatly modified by the inroad of the intellectual elements, the spirituals put up a successful struggle against learning for learning's sake. As a result of this democratic give-and-take, an intelligent compromise was reached: the educational ideal must minister to the apostolic ideal. The friars are to be educated and to educate others only in as far as this education ministers to conversion and sanctifi-

¹Pitra Jean Baptiste, "Jacobi Vitriacensis Sermones ad Fratres Minores" (1235 ?), Analecta novissima spici legii solesmensis, II, 403. Edited by Hilarin Felder, O.F.M.Cap. Romae, 1903.

²Vincente de la Fuente, Historia de las universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España (4 vols.), I, 299. Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda e hija de Fuentenebre, 1884-1889.

³Herbert Grundmann, Religioese Bewegungen im Mittelalter, pp. 70 et seq., 100, 156 et seq. Berlin, 1935.

cation of souls. It has always been difficult to define the practical limits of this ideal, but the absence of the Franciscan Order as a group from institutionalized higher education for externs for many centuries indicates the compromise reached between the apostolic ideal and the educational ideal.

A fifteenth century English translation of the Franciscan Rule taken from the Cottonian MS Faustina D. IV (which belonged to John Howell who, probably, was a Franciscan friar) quotes as an exhortation (not a command or even an admonition) that sole portion of the rule which expressly mentions letters and learning: "And thos that be vnlerneyd shalnot besye themself to be lettred and lernyd."¹ On the other hand, the general statutes edited at Barcelona in 1451 decree and command that there be libraries in each convent and that in each province study houses of theology be maintained for the young Franciscans aspiring to the priesthood.² But these statutes are also silent on the education of those outside the Order. The systematic higher education carried out within the Order for the members of the Order was definitely a victory for the "literati," who considered themselves handicapped in their preaching and the cure of souls by the prevailing opinion of the spirituals, that pursuit of study would cause relaxation of religious discipline and the disruption of the common life.³ It must be borne in mind that in the thirteenth century, men already learned sought entrance into the Order or attended Oxford, Paris, and other universities, while in the fifteenth century, the Order had to educate its own learned men. This victory, especially in Spain, was achieved around 1450 due to the efforts of Cardinal Cervantes, archbishop of Terragona, and St. John Capistran, O.F.M., leader of a general reform movement within the Order.⁴

Fuente, in his monumental study of the history of education in Spain shows the systematic care given by the secular and religious governments to the higher education of the nobility; many universities and separate colleges were founded by popes and

¹Monumenta Franciscana, II, 7-28, 73, 91, 94. Collection of Original Documents Respecting the Franciscan Order in England. Edited by Richard Howlett. London: Longman and Co., 1882.

²Fuente, op. cit., I, 299.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 200.

bishops, kings and princes.¹ The primary education of the nobility was largely handled by the respective families through special tutors. It was not until 1566 that some favorable dispositions for the primary instruction of the masses was made by the Recopilacion de Leyes of Philip II.² Prior to that, the only formal education of the common people was left largely to the voluntary efforts of the local curates, sacristans, and mendicant friars, especially the Franciscans. Fuente relates that teaching in Spain was the task of the sacristan, which he performed either in the vestibule of the church or in some poor dwelling under the patronage of laymen or the chaplain; there were no public or common schools except in the convents of the mendicants, especially the Franciscans, who in their humility and the exercise of patience, have merited well by dedicating themselves gratuitously to the education of poor children, teaching them reading, writing, Christian doctrine, and some arithmetic, which at the time, constituted the essentials of primary instruction.³ This seems to have been the result of the practical fusion of the apostolic and educational Franciscan ideals for effecting the reform of the European social order at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This policy, which, as will be shown, was successfully pursued in New Spain, effected a tremendous amount of good for the common people. Paradoxically, the formal primary schooling of the masses would hardly have taken place, had it not been, that the fifteenth century internal struggle about higher learning among the friars made the pursuit of the secular liberal arts by them quite suspect. Thus, internally inhibited from exercising educational leadership, they welcomed the poor and ignorant to their cloisters to instruct them in the rudiments of secular and religious knowledge.

In fifteenth century Spain the education of girls--both noble and poor--was effected through various sisterhoods among whom the "Franciscan tertiaries called venerable" (terciariás franciscanas llamadas beatas) played a very prominent part.⁴

This background study of Franciscan education is very important in attempting to find reasons why Spanish educational policy in Mexico differed so markedly, during the first fifty

¹Ibid., p. 498.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 497.

⁴Ibid., II, 510-513. These were members of the third order of St. Francis.

years at least, from the trends followed in Argentina, Chile, and Peru. In South America emphasis was placed on secondary and higher education for the upper classes while primary education for the masses was the distinctive feature of formal institutionalized educational ventures in Mexico, where alone it attained a relatively high degree of development. Perhaps the traditional Franciscan characteristic of poverty and democracy and several centuries of internal struggles over higher secular learning made the friars feel more at home among the poor and the common people than among the more influential. Furthermore, as a later chapter will reveal, the educability of the Aztecs, Mayas, and other tribes was such, that all the children of all the people could profit from elementary instruction.

Whatever the reason for the enlightened Franciscan policy in New Spain, it will be shown as historically certain that a decline in state aid for elementary education took place within a few decades following the opening and public support of the University of Mexico in 1553.¹ Just why the Franciscans apparently had no part in this venture is not difficult to understand in the light of their European tradition.

At any rate during the final third period of the sixteenth century, Mexican educational policy more closely resembled that of old Spain, which sponsored university training at the expense of elementary education for the masses. Higher education was not intended for the natives, since the typical professional curriculum of the University of Mexico, theology, civil law, canon law, and medicine was meant for the sons of the Spaniards. Even the courses in native languages were intended to prepare missionaries for the apostolic activities among the tribesmen.

In Europe, the Franciscan and state educational policies and practices were not in harmony; it was quite natural that this situation should continue when Christian and European civilization was transplanted to New Spain. But there were modifications not so much in the class of individuals to be educated, as in the degree of education to be given--in fact this clash between state and Order occasioned the eclipse of one of the clearest examples

¹L. S. Rowe, "Education in Mexico," *A Cyclopedia of Education*, IV, 206-207. Paul Monroe, editor. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913.

of planned social change through education.

Taking a brief glance at southern European higher education in the sixteenth century, we note that before the Council of Trent the university movement had reached its height. The Renaissance cast its Italian light upon the Spanish court of Isabella; Salamanca grew in importance while noted lecturers and scholars found fame, fortune, and students at the court schools of major and lesser princes. The cultivation of their sciences of navigation, geography, and astronomy played a major role in making Spain the ruling empire of the earth. Royalty found prestige in favoring advanced learning; colleges--more or less independent of universities (something unusual for those times)--sprang up in numerous localities, so that before the modern era there were three types of higher education in Spain: the universities, the independent colleges, and the clerical seminaries.

According to Packard, "there was no thought of general or popular education in the modern sense of the term,"¹ even though daring explorations and nationalistic literature increased enrollments at the universities. Besides the university of Salamanca with its 7,000 students there were twenty-six colleges in that city, four higher and twenty-two inferior; there were thirteen inferior colleges and one higher, at Alcalá, distinct from the university, four colleges at Granada and the College of Santa Cruz at Valladolid. Some of these colleges had elementary schools attached to them, but all required an elementary education before entrance. As Paris was the model for Europe's northern universities so Alcalá, founded by the Franciscan Cardinal Ximenes, and Salamanca set the plan and pace for the higher institutions of Spanish America.

Much solid material has been written concerning the place which education should have in carrying on the work of the Franciscan Order; almost as much has been written on what St. Francis intended, but little has been written on what the Friars actually accomplished through educational means both within and without the Order.

In the pursuit of the active life, the thirteenth century

¹R. L. Packard, "Education in Spain," *A Cyclopedia of Education*, V, 380. Paul Monroe, editor. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926.

saw many learned Franciscans, but, once the Order had been established and the contemplatives had won the day, Franciscan humility triumphed in the education of the masses, and large numbers of Franciscan scholars were no longer found in the halls of the great universities. Felder, who has written on education in the Franciscan Order during the thirteenth century, made a clear distinction, as we have seen, between Francis and Dominic in the matter of learning. Dominic gives it the first place in building his Order of Preachers, while Francis considers good example, and the spirit of prayer, and charity as holding a priority over human learning in the conversion of souls to Christ.

Francis would not precisely exclude learning nor dictate the type or amount of scientific knowledge his workers should possess; he was an opportunist on this matter, leaving it to circumstances, need, and good judgment of the friars whom he commissioned and sent to all nations of the earth.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN THE PRE-HISPANIC SOCIAL ORDER

The social order which the Franciscan schools in Spanish North America attempted to change was charged with primitive value systems and aboriginal institutions that were antithetical to those of Christian Spain. The Indians found by the Spaniards on their entrance into Mexico's ancient capital, Tenochtitlan, on November 8, 1519, were largely the semi-civilized Aztecs, a pagan warlike tribe that retained evidences of a previous high degree of civilization. Even at Mitla and among the Mayan nations of Yucatan and Guatemala the ruins, relics, and pyramids gave evidence of a former native grandeur which the followers of Cortés did not experience on their arrival; the ancient culture had apparently undergone a process of semi-dissolution before the European adventure and conquest.¹

Consequently, the semi-civilized Aztec and Mayan tribes were, in some respects, as warlike, barbarous, and primitive, as the uncivilized nomadic red men in northern and western Mexico, the West Indies, Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, New Mexico and Texas, Arizona and California. The various types of their idolatrous worship together with the sacrifices of produce and human beings, captive and innocent, is well illustrated in the accompanying chart sketched about the year 1579 by Friar Valades, O.F.M., who had spent many years among the Indians of Mexico.² For most of them, marriage was the same as concubinage and, since women were chattel, polygamy as a social institution took on the status of power and wealth. Private property was unknown, since all goods were held in common though administered by the Indian aris-

¹Ellsworth Huntington, The Red Man's Continent--A Chronicle of Aboriginal America, pp. 169-170. In The Chronicles of America, Vol. I. Allen Johnson, editor. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.

²Fr. Didacus Valades, O.F.M., Rhetorica Christiana. Perugia, 1579. Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

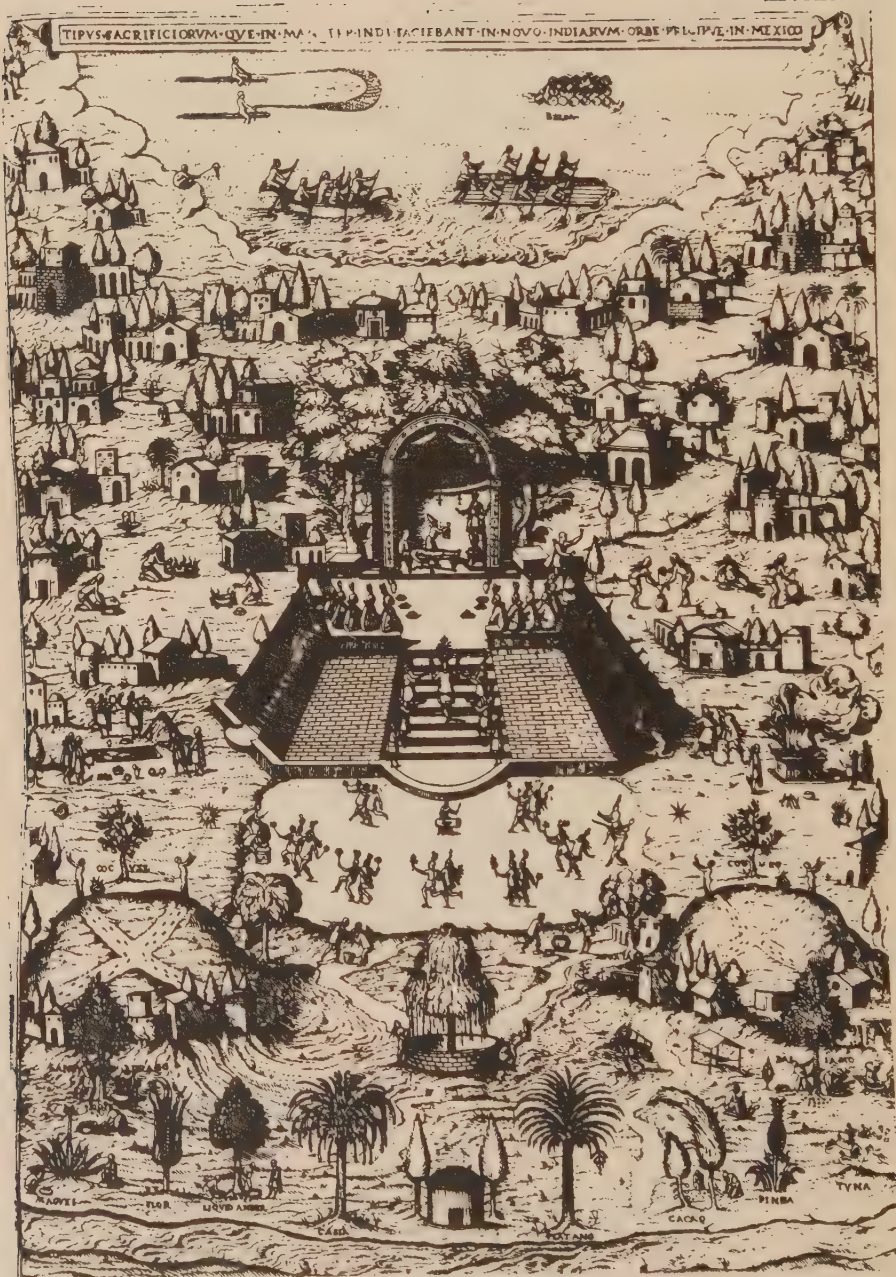


Fig. 2.--Types of aboriginal sacrifices and idolatry in Mexico. According to Fray Valades, O.F.M.--1579.

tocracy, a distinction which some of the Spanish conquerors failed to realize when they gave the ownership of lands to prominent Indians who hitherto had only administered them. Temporary slavery, especially with regard to specific services, was in quite general vogue; a class of outcasts existed side by side with the bond of kinship, within which family relations had priority, though the kin, rather than the family, gave the individual name and recognition.¹

The Indian civilization which is still seen in the ubiquitous Mexican peoples because it cannot be hidden by the transcendent European culture, gives mute evidence that in the material and spiritual conquest and civilization of New Spain there was not an annihilation of ancient culture but rather a fusion of acceptable Indian and Spanish ideas.² This is shown in dress and pottery, agriculture and architecture, statues and paintings, churches and conventual temples, sacred music and ritualistic dancing. To understand this contact of social orders and the tolerant impact of culture upon culture with consequent mutual adjustment, comparisons must be made between the pre-conquest writings and codices and those of the first century of Spanish domination before the encomienda system and the diseases of Europe mutilated the social scene.

In fact, during the second half of the sixteenth century a rebirth of native culture took place, encouraged by the Spanish emphasis on hereditary rights to title and property. This is evident from the writings of Tezozomoc (1561), Duran (1581), Ixtlilxochitl (1600), Chimalpahin (1613), from the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" (1570), and, especially, from the post-conquest hieroglyphs found in such codices as the Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A (1563).³

"What remains of Indian culture today," says the noted archeologist Vaillant, "is largely the blend of early indigenous

¹Adolph F. Bandelier, On the Social Organization and Mode of Government of the Ancient Mexicans, pp. 599, 609, 611, 654. Reprint from the Twelfth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, 1879, pp. 557-699. Salem, 1879.

²George C. Vaillant, Aztecs of Mexico, pp. 267-268. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1941.

³Ibid., pp. 267, 297.

practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century."¹ But, before we examine the educational system conducted by the first and foremost friars on the Spanish North American scene, some attention must deservedly be given to pre-Franciscan patterns of education in ancient Mexico.

The scholarship of Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., who has written extensively on the cultural history of the tribes which he found in Mexico during the sixteenth century, has left us an account of the educational purposes and procedures employed by the Aztecs, one of the semi-civilized tribes of New Spain. The General History of Affairs in New Spain, which was published by Father Sahagun in 1566, was written largely in his newly acquired Aztec language.² It is a monumental work and contains many hundreds of illustrations depicting the arts and crafts, customs and worship of the natives. Judging from the fact that the original was written in Aztec, it is reasonable to conclude that the author intended to employ his work as a handy reference to teach the Aztecs the history of their own civilization.

At this point, however, Sahagun's work is of merit because it gives us one of the few preserved accounts we have of Aztec education before the coming of the Friars Minor.³ Among these Indios the social order was a cleavage between classes. The children of the lower classes were educated mainly by their own parents, while the sons of kings and princes who were to become the priests and chief warriors were educated by the priests and chief tribesmen either in the calmecac (priesthouse) or in the telpuchalli (young folks' home).

Shortly after the child was born, the parents would arrange for its ceremonial bathing or baptism on a day considered favorable according to the astrological calendar. If the child

¹Ibid., p. 269.

²Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., Historia de las cosas de Nueva España, 1566. (In Aztec--codice Florentino and codice Matritense.) 5 vols. Madrid: Fototipia de Hauser y Menet, 1905-1907.

³Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., "Die Erziehung der Kinder" (pp. 339 et seq.) in Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerke des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, aus dem aztekischen uebersetzt von Eduard Seler. Original Aztec and German translation in parallel columns. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927.

was a boy, a bow and arrow was placed in his hand on that day as he was held aloft toward the sun and given a name which was usually that of some warrior. This usually preceded an "umbilical cord" ceremony during which a special offering was made to the gods while the cord was secretly buried. A big feast of seven days was held for all the relatives.

In the rearing of children the parents made considerable use of corporal punishment. The cutting of ears, pricking with thorns, whippings, and beatings were employed not only for the repression of wickedness, but also that children might learn to speak well and be polite and well-behaved in company.

While lower class education does not seem to have been institutionalized, Sahagun mentions and illustrates cases in which the parents brought their boys to the calmecac and telpuchcalli after dedicating them to the night and the wind and beseeched the priests and chiefs in charge to accept them as young warriors since they want them to obey and to learn. The following is a speech of a parent asking to have his boy taken in for an education: "Manoço nelli xjcmocelilica, manoço xiqualmánilica, ma quimontoca maqujmonmati" which means "O may you really take him up, o may you really receive him in your care, that he may obey, that he may learn."¹ The curriculum to which such a child was subjected was almost exclusively that which prepared him for war. The parents desired this because, having received him from the gods, they wished to dedicate him as a warrior to the gods. The priests consoled the parents in their poverty and separation from the child, because the young warrior had a good chance of attaining honor and renown.

The sons of kings and princes were educated by their parents until they reached the age of twelve or thirteen. At that time they were brought to the houses of the priests or to the young peoples' homes to be reared and disciplined. They were subjected to frequent mortifications and were turned over to warriors for the purpose of physical training and hardening, while the priests initiated them into the cult of tribal singing and ritualistic dancing. At fifteen years the adolescent began his formal training for war; he was given formal instruction in the use and understanding of his weapons and in the methods of taking

¹Ibid., pp. 339-340.

captives. When he was twenty years of age he went into battle and was rewarded on the basis of results, which were evaluated in terms of the number of live captives taken. Montecuhçomas (Montezuma) gave special honors to the successful sons of his own princes at a celebration in which the captives were sacrificed as human holocausts to the gods. In the dance palace of the devils a big dance was held on the following day; for the ensuing twenty days the victors were clothed in the skins of their captives. Incidentally, this practice of taking live captives for sacrifice was a factor in the defeat of the Aztecs by the Spaniards whom they did not wish to kill, since live captives were desired; besides, this method of capture and ceremonial clothing in the skins of their captives caused many fatal epidemics.

Education, therefore, in pre-Franciscan days was largely devoted to the arts and sciences of war. This objective was stressed, not only in formal instruction, but also in the customs which the young folks had in informal life. Their hair was cut while they were still very young. Braids of hair were added, indicative of the number of captives taken and also according to the manner in which they were captured. A command appearance at the palace of Montecuhçomas was highly prized by the young warrior; he dressed in yellow, painted his face dark red, bedecked his hair with feathers and wore lip- and ear-rings of leather. Tribal dances and songs marked the festivities; the different ornaments and clothes of those in attendance signified varying degrees of excellence among the warriors. Thus the motivation to make captives ran very high since whosoever captured the greatest number resided in the house of the king.

Education in the telpuchcalli (young folks' homes) was somewhat different from the type of education received in the calmecac (priests' homes). In the former emphasis was placed upon skill in warfare, domestic work, and tribal customs whereas more spiritual pursuits marked the activities of the boys in training in the homes of the priests.

The boys and young men of the telpuchcalli were obliged to do domestic chores, such as sweeping and building fires. After they had mastered the ceremonial songs and dances, they were placed on probation and tested to determine their physical endurance in carrying bundles of wood from the forest. Those who were successful, were then permitted to carry the shield into battle. Kind-

ness and friendliness to their companions merited for many of them the title "elder brothers"; the best of these later became supervisors of the young men and judges empowered to punish the faults of others. The most courageous, provided he had four captives to his credit, become the lord of Tlacatecco.

Quite a number of these young hopefuls led a rigorous common life in the telpuchcalli; they learned the proper ways of dressing, singing, dancing, domestic work, and conducting battle. They were severely punished for being absent from community exercises, were forced to dance, almost naked, from dusk until midnight, had to abstain completely from wine, and were allowed to have only one wife. If anyone violated the established proprieties such as drinking wine, even moderately, he was publicly whipped.

While the children of kings and princes who were educated in the telpuchcalli became warriors, those who lived in the calmecac usually became priests. The house of the priest was called the institute of learning and education, the house of clean living, the place where the foot is proven, the place of meditation and prudence where virtue and practical justice reign, the house of tears and sorrow, neither dirty nor dusty. These descriptive names indicate the religious and moral standards which the pupils had to meet. For the rites of initiation the parents brought jewels and pearls, ornamented feathers and incense. Frequently the child's ear was pricked and the blood which oozed therefrom was cast before the picture of some demon. Sahagun lists the following rules of right conduct which the boys and young men residing in the calmecac had to observe.

1. All must sleep in the calmecac.
2. All must cleanse the floor during the darkness of the night.
3. Adolescent boys must seek and find the plant called agave.
4. After they become priests they must go into the forest at night to collect wood to keep the fires in the house burning all night.
5. They are required to leave their domestic duties to serve God and perform penitential exercises.
6. Everyone must learn to sleep alone.
7. They must eat at a common table.

8. All must say definite prayers at midnight.

9. No one may be proud or disturb others by promoting unrest; order and discipline were insisted upon; thus, anyone who drank wine, or was discovered with a woman, was unmercifully beaten, shot with arrows, or even buried alive.

10. Lesser offenders were to be whipped with stout branches, pricked with thorns or have their ears pierced.

11. They were required to bathe at midnight.

12. At stated times all were required to keep a strict fast, abstaining from all food till midday.

13. They had to learn to speak well and politely.

14. They were taught the dream book, the calendar, and the book of years; they learned divine chant through books and pictures.

15. The priests took the vow of chastity which forbade them even to see women; they were obliged to be God-fearing and devout, sincere and without deceit, in short, they were to be paragons of moderation in all of life's activities.

There were various ranks among the priesthood, such as priests of the lord and priests of the rain god; the high priests were chosen from among the ordinary priests.

Antonio de Solis, writing in 1548, distinguishes three levels of education among the Indians of New Spain in pre-hispanic times.¹ They had teachers for the children, for adolescents and for the youth. The children were put through a series of rudimentary exercises which were considered beneficial for the republic; they were taught to decipher characters and figures which constituted the writings of their civilization and they had to commit to memory the historic poems and songs which contained the brave exploits of their ancestors, and the glories of their deities.

They then passed into the second class of the adolescents where they learned decorum, modesty, and politeness until they acquired proper composure and reserve in speech and behavior. These secondary teachers had greater prestige because they had responsibility of molding the characters and instilling the proper

¹Antonio de Solis, Historia de la conquista de Mexico, poblacion, y progressos de la America septentrional, 1548, third edition, pp. 252-253. Mexico, 1748.

customs into these pupils at that age at which, according to Solis, it is very important to correct defects and control the passions.¹

Having successfully accomplished this subjection and control, and having mastered the principles of disciplined behavior, the students passed to the third class where they were subjected to more robust exercises. They had to prove their physical prowess by wrestling and bodily endurance tests, competing with one another in distance running and jumping. They were taught how to bear arms, climb mountains, throw darts and missiles, and how to discharge and dodge arrows. Strict discipline was inculcated in suffering hunger and thirst and, according to the season, they were made to resist the inclemencies of the weather, until they became hardened. There were three ways in which the youth could elect or be elected into the nobility: by fitting himself for political government, for military duty, or for the priesthood, the military station in life always being considered somewhat superior in the prevailing social order. The adolescent remained in his fathers' home until the teachers passed upon the qualifications of the individual to enter his chosen state of life.

There were also, according to the chief chronicler of the Indies, schools conducted by matrons who had dedicated themselves to the service and cult of the temple.² In these institutions young ladies of quality were educated; they were cloistered and entrusted to the care of their mistresses from the time they were children until they attained their majority, when with the permission of their fathers and the approval of the king, they were considered qualified and trained sufficiently in domestic duties to be considered women.

The sons of the nobility were trained for war even from the very inception of their schooling. They were obliged to pass many tests and military exercises in the presence of their fathers, who came to see how their sons could sustain corporal injuries on the fields of combat. On the basis of the outcomes of these trials, enlistments in the ranks of soldiers were either approved or denied. Hardened for work and enthused for military honor the fortunate selectees were sent forth to do battle against neighboring ferocious tribes. None were admitted to the profession of

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 253.

soldiery who did not give some proof of their valor or who showed any semblance of horror for war. The spirit of rivalry among both the candidates and the newly levied soldiers was, therefore, very keen, especially during the time of their probation. In order to rank in the number of the valiant it was necessary to perform not only brave deeds but such as were very extraordinary and dangerous.

The educational system of pre-Franciscan New Spain was, therefore, logically geared to war as its main objective, since it mirrored a social order in which military aggression and defense were dominant core values; it existed to prepare the new generation for life in that culture. The power controls were definitely in the hands of warriors who could retain them only by protecting their hard-won prestige and by enlarging their borders. Education was consequently used as an instrument for preserving and acquiring new power because it fostered warlike attitudes and appreciations and, through emphasis on rivalry, captured the enthusiasm of youth. It instilled an ideology for which the students were ready to undergo great dangers to limb and life, if only their leaders would retain social control after the struggle had subsided. These racial experiences and special customs were the identifying elements of tribal culture to which, through a very heavily pictorial language and number system, the school had to socialize its youth.

The idolatries and superstitions of the pre-Cortesian social order were not transmitted, as far as can be determined, through any means of formal education but were acquired through the example of the elders and participation in the ceremonies of the family hearth. Solis describes a few institutions which cannot be called schools in the strict sense but which served mainly as guardians of racial experiences, ceremonies, and rites, healing remedies of the physicians, catastrophic signs and prognostications, propitiatory methods for dealing with the angry gods of fire, comets, and monsters, and the necessity of human sacrifices.¹ One of these gathering places was known as the house of mourning

¹Ibid., Lib. III, cap. xiv, p. 243; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., "Cap. I.--De las señales y pronosticos que aparecieren antes que los españoles viniesen á esta tierra, ni hubiese noticia de ellos," Historia de la conquista de Mexico, Libro Do-ceno, 1578--Bustamante edition. Mexico, 1829.

to which the natives retired to mourn the passing of their parents and on other occasions of calamity and ill-success which called for a public or semi-official demonstration. The entire environment of the place, the black walls, the ghastly architecture, the darkness, the very small windows, and the low roof contributed to the melancholy spirit which was to pervade the building so that the prince of evil might visit this chamber of darkness and converse with his victims. Naturally this institution had quite a submerging influence on an impressionable people.

Outside the city there frequently were houses of recreation with many and copious springs and fountains which provided the water for bathing and tanks for fishing. In the vicinity of these there were various groves or woods which were readily accessible for various kinds of field sports. Hunting seems to have been the favorite outdoor recreation especially in the mountain recesses which were populated by tigers, lions, and other ferocious beasts known for their agility and provocative manner of challenge. Montezuma himself favored this form of recreation since it fostered the art and science of war.

The royal palace which set the standard and tempo of society in pre-hispanic Mexico might also be looked upon as an educational influence. Its ceremonies and rites, its polygamy and economic organization, its dances and festive celebrations, its food and drink, its dress and ornament, its music and song had a powerful influence on the more wealthy vassals of the king and, through them, on the masses. At the court, according to Solís, there was formal instruction in the historic ballads and dances of the nation, especially for those children who were to sing in the temple choirs.¹ García Icazbalceta² mentions a school for girl singers and dancers, the Cuicoyán, which in pre-Cortesian times was considered a house of prostitution.

The king's power was totalitarian not only in political and financial matters but also in the religious sphere; his court

¹ Antonio de Solís, op. cit., p. 248.

² Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Education in Mexico during the XVI Century, 1882. Translated by W. J. O'Donnell and edited by the Texas Catholic Historical Society. Preliminary Studies, I, No. 7, 3. Published as a reprint from Historical Records and Studies of United States, Catholic Historical Society, Vol. XX, April, 1931.

was known for its integrity and strict justice and for the almost daily celebration of national and religious festivals. Through him society was integrated and held together so that alternate values could only with great difficulty affect the core pattern. Youth were socialized through experiencing common indoctrination on government, religion, social class and caste, marriage and the family, and other aspects of the common life in such fashion that their ideas of the structure and function of society were harmoniously unified rather than fractional. Furthermore, the emotional conditioning which figured prominently in the acquisition of the traditional ideology made the adjustment quite automatic and pre-scinded from any modification of the culture through education. After the Cortesian conquest, the Franciscans and their followers organized schools of a different type as instruments of social direction for the modification and change of societal patterns and core values. Proceeding on a basis of designing and planning a new Christian Spanish social order adjusted to a primitive people, the friars resorted to experimentation, sensitizing and emotionally charging the attitudes of the youth to the new value configuration of what they held to be a better social order for all mankind.

CHAPTER III

SPANISH NORTH AMERICAN CONQUESTS

The united kingdoms of Spain, enlarged and made conscious of common potential powers during the reign of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, sought to express their influence through the expansion of the Columbian discoveries. Explorers, conquerors, missionaries, administrators, and commercial traders were sent to occupy, colonize, and civilize the islands of Española (Haiti), Porto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba in the West Indies, while competition with Portugal led the Spaniards to explore the coastal regions of eastern and southern United States.

Hernando Cortés and his intrepid men, through force of arms and diplomatic maneuvering, converted Montezuma's capital of Tenochtitlan, the present Mexico City, into the Spanish headquarters and made the chieftain their invited guest. This conquest, which was begun in February, 1519, and concluded on August 13, 1521 with the capitulation of the Aztec capital, was the signal for extending the rule of Christian Spain over the Aztec regions as well as those of neighboring Indian nations and tribes.¹ Thus the subjugation of the Mayas in Guatemala, Honduras, and Yucatan was quite successfully accomplished before the middle of the sixteenth century, while the Pueblos of present New Mexico, though visited early by European explorers and missionaries like Coronado and Fray Marcos de Niza, O.F.M., were among the last to be pacified.

Since colonization of the newly discovered territory was encouraged through financial subsidies and offerings of feudal lordships by the Spanish government, it is not surprising to learn that the average annual emigration from Spain to America during the sixteenth century was about 1,500 persons, most of whom came from orthodox Spanish families.²

¹J. Fred Rippy, Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, pp. 51-52. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1940.

²Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas M. Marshall, The Colonization

The majority of these were men who took Indian women as their wives and thus propagated a mixed race. So rapidly was this miscegenation effective, that before the end of the sixteenth century the numbers of the mixed races actually exceeded census figures for the pure Indian population.¹ There existed confusing racial mixtures of the half or quarter blood in the various confederations or pueblos. Palacio lists some of them according to the following castes:

1. Native born children of foreign-born Spanish parents were called criollos (creoles).
2. Children of a Spaniard and an Indian woman were known as coyotes or more commonly mestizos (mestees).
3. Children of a mestizo and a Spanish woman were termed castizos.
4. Children of a castizo and a Spanish woman went by the name of españolos (Spaniards).
5. Children of an español and a Negro woman were called mulatos (mulattoes).
6. Children of a mulato and an española were known as moriscos (Moors).
7. Children who had Negro features but were born into a white family were termed salta-atrás (throw-backs or, perhaps, atavists).
8. Children born to a salta-atrás (or torna-atrás) married to an Indian woman are known as chinos (Chinese).
9. Children born of a chino and a mulata were called lobos (wolves).
10. Children born of a lobo and a mulata went by the name of gibaros (wild animals).¹

These are only ten illustrations of the attempts made at classification by those who were interested in bringing some semblance of order out of the racial confusion of blood occasioned by promiscuous miscegenation. Social problems were precipitated by this chaos which accentuated some strengths and some weaknesses

of North America (1492-1783), p. 21. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930.

¹Vicente Riva Palacio, Mexico a través de los siglos, II, 471, 472, 477. Mexico: Ballescá y compañía, 1887-1889.

of the various races in New Spain.¹ These weaknesses eventually became the concern of both the first viceroy and the first bishop of Mexico who sought to overcome them more by educational and religious means than by legislation and the exercise of the police power.

Exploration of the interior of New Spain occasioned many a triumph and casualty among conqueror and missionary alike. Cabeza de Vaca and Bishop Juan Suarez, O.F.M., met disaster at sea in 1536 on the coast of Texas not far from the mouth of the Mississippi, though the former survived to narrate fabulous stories of fame and fortune. These provided motives for brave but avaricious leaders to traverse the plains of central Kansas and deal with the many tribes in western and southeastern United States.

The colonies were owned outright by the crown which set up a jurisdictional system in Spanish towns modelled very closely upon that of the mother country. The viceroyalty of Mexico was set up in 1535, though a captaincy-general for Guatemala had been created already in 1527. Treasury officials and royal investigators and inspectors were abundant. The supreme court was the Audiencia, which, together with the Council of the Indies, exercised many important advisory, executive, and judicial functions.

The numerous towns which sprang up in Spanish North America shortly after the conquest were largely the results of land grants made to a pioneer leader or a unified group of soldiers.² The main officers, such as town councilmen and municipal judges, were elected, except for the first year when a leader of initiative and daring could appoint his own officials. These towns were the transfer points of the Christian social order.

Encomenderos who were to supervise Indian life and labor shared responsibility for the welfare of the natives with both crown officials and the clergy. But what was Spain's Indian policy?

Rippy identifies four main objectives, namely, reduction to village life, Christianization, civilization, and final racial

¹Ibid., p. 477.

²Herbert I. Priestley, The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848, pp. 96-98. Vol. I of A History of American Life. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929.

fusion with the colonists; "and notwithstanding much attendant cruelty and exploitation--which occurred in violation of many humane laws--the fate of the aborigenes of Spanish America was probably more fortunate than that of the backward races subdued by any other modern colonizing power."¹

The Audiencia of New Spain consisted of a president and four oidores or judges. The avaricious and partisan Nuño de Guzman was president of the first Audiencia created by Charles V in 1528. Opposed by both Cortés and Zumárraga, the personnel of this first supreme court was replaced in 1530 by Bishop Ramirez de Fuenleal of Santo Domingo as president, and Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos, and Quiroga, later bishop of Michoacán, as judges. These men sought to abolish the encomienda system of Indian servitude, but, finding such a radical step impossible, sought to check the abuses of the unfortunate system until the arrival, in 1535, of Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy, governor, captain-general and ipso facto president of the Audiencia.²

Lopez de Velasco, official geographer of Spanish America, enumerates about two hundred Spanish towns and cities on the north and south continents, not including the mining camps, haciendas, and stock ranches.³ The Spanish population in North America constituted some 120,000 persons to whom almost two-and-one-half millions of Indians were subservient. The viceroyalty of New Spain, distinct from that of Peru, comprised in the course of its evolution the four Audiencias of Española (Haiti), Mexico, Guatemala, and Nueva Galicia, and thus had jurisdiction over the fairly large populations of practically all present-day capitals and cultural centers in Spanish North America.

The following is a list of Mexican Audiencias, viceroys, and bishops with whom the Franciscan Order had frequent relations during the greater part of the sixteenth century Spanish domination.⁴

¹Rippy, op. cit., p. 64.

²Bolton and Marshall, op. cit., p. 49.

³Cited in ibid., p. 75.

⁴Robert Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique, p. 357. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 191, Rue Saint-Jacques (5e), 1933.

Political Government in Early Mexico (1523-1580)

Hernan Cortés: 1523-1526--governor and military leader
 First Audiencia: 1528-1530--president, Nuño de Guzman
 Second Audiencia: 1531-1535--president, D. Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal
 D. Antonio de Mendoza: 1535-1550--first viceroy
 D. Luis de Velasco: 1550-1564--second viceroy
 D. Gastón de Peralta: 1566-1568--marquis de Falces, third viceroy
 D. Martin Enriquez de Almonsa: 1568-1580--fourth viceroy

Ecclesiastical Government in Early Mexico (1528-1579)

I. Mexico City

Bishop Fr. Juan de Zumárraga, O.F.M., 1528-1548
 Bishop Fr. Alonso de Montúfar, O.P., 1554-1572

II. Michoacán

Bishop D. Vasco de Quiroga, 1538-1565
 Bishop D. Antonio Ruiz Morales, 1567-1572

III. Tlaxcala-Puebla

Bishop Fr. Julian Garcés, O.P., 1526-1542
 Bishop Fr. Martin de Hojacastró, O.F.M., 1546-1558
 Bishop D. Fernando de Villagomez, 1563-1570

IV. Oaxaca (Antequera)

Bishop D. Juan Lopez de Zarate, 1535-1555
 Bishop Fr. Bernardo de Albuquerque, O.P., 1559-1579

V. Nueva Galicia (Guadalajara)

Bishop D. Pedro Gomez Maraver, 1548-1552
 Bishop Fr. Pedro de Ayala, O.F.M., 1559-1569
 Bishop D. Francisco de Merdiola, 1571-1576

To what extent the Catholic Church, and in particular, the Franciscan Order, which was the first religious group on the scene in America, allowed itself to become a royal agency of colonial enterprise has not been determined by investigations thus far pursued. Friars had accompanied the discoverers and explorers; the ecclesiastical hierarchy was set up in Mexico in 1528 with the election of Fray Juan de Zumárraga, O.F.M., as the first bishop.

Many religious orders worked side by side for the conversion and civilization of the natives. They established numerous social institutions especially where the Indians had settled or could be settled, the expenses being borne by government, private philanthropy, Indian taxes, or support from the encomenderos. Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Mercedarians, Jesuits, and in lesser numbers, religious of other orders sought to transfer Christian Spanish culture to the American aborigenes.

The Franciscans usually remained in newly conquered areas

until their services were no longer stringently required and their neophytes could be turned over to others, or until replaced by diocesan clergy, either voluntarily, or forcefully, through decrees of secularization. Their most remarkable achievements in the North American colonies are largely traceable to their enthusiasm for mass education as an instrument of social change. Priestley reviews the educational philosophy of the secular and religious churchmen who came with the conquerors:

Wherever the priests went, a school was soon established for the instruction of the natives or a college for its clericals who were already at work as well as for those who were soon to take holy orders. From the colleges sprang the universities which, in all the Spanish dominions, were founded at a very early date for the pursuit of the "general studies" which were at that time taught in the great peninsular universities of Alcalá and Salamanca. Half a century before Jamestown was founded by the English, the University of Mexico was conferring degrees upon graduates in law and theology. Before the seventeenth century closed, no less than seven universities had been erected in Spanish America, and their graduates were accepted on an equality with those of Spanish institutions of like grade.¹

Despite the decline of Spain's power at home following the death of Philip II, her colonial frontiers expanded during the seventeenth century into Sinaloa, Sonora, Lower California, Chihuahua, Texas, and Coahuila, while flourishing Indian mission settlements opened westward and northward from the coasts of "La Florida" extending well into Louisiana and reaching even to Virginia.² Missionaries in these areas were given a freer hand since the uncivilized tribes inhabiting these areas were not fit subjects for exploitation as were the Mayas and Aztecs.³

The mission with its school as a temporary pioneer institution on the outposts of civilization was intended to change the attitude of the natives and to discipline them in the spiritual, cultural, and economic habits of the Christian Spanish social order. Having made the Indian docile, self-supporting, and ready to govern himself, the missionary could then distribute the mis-

¹Priestley as quoted by Bolton and Marshall, op. cit., p. 76; Priestley, op. cit., pp. 158-159.

²Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands, p. 151. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921.

³Bolton and Marshall, op. cit., p. 236.

sion lands among the natives while turning the supervision of their spiritual and cultural life to the secular hierarchy. That such procedure, however, was not always followed is very apparent from the frequent and lengthy struggles over the process of mission secularization.

Following readjustments in New Spain's political arena, Upper California was colonized and its Indians Christianized due largely to the energy of King Charles III of Spain, the reforms of his general visitor Galvez, and the zeal of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M., already known for his work in the Sierra Gorda region.

Spanish conquests and colonization in North America came to an end in the early nineteenth century through the military and political successes of Great Britain and the United States and the concerted pressure for national independence made by the Latin American nations. Missionaries still minister to the Indian tribes in the regions once known as Spanish North America. They wear the same garb and preach the same doctrine as their predecessors, but they speak a different language and swear allegiance to a different flag.

CHAPTER IV

FRANCISCAN COMMISSIONS AND EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

The Friars Minor were the first commissioned European religious and educational officers in America. It will be shown later that Franciscans accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, but the earliest record¹ of their educational objectives in the New World is dated 1501 and lays particular stress on formal instructional activities in Española, the present Haiti. The Indians are declared free by their Catholic majesties² and are to be taught Christian doctrine and the observances of civilized life by Fray Alonso del Espinar, O.F.M., and his ten Franciscan brethren who accompanied Nicolás de Ovando to the island. This educational project expanded so that Fray García de Padilla, O.F.M., was appointed first bishop of Santo Domingo in 1504; an independent province, the first in America was erected in 1505,³ a year before Columbus died. Later, in 1559, due to the depopulation of Española this province of the Holy Cross was united with the custodies of Yucatan and Guatemala. Franciscan educational purposes were manifest in both their spiritual and corporal works of mercy.

One of the rarest primary sources on the objectives of Franciscan participation in the spiritual and ideological conquest of Spanish North America is the so-called lost book (el libro perdido) written by the ethnologist and scholarly historian

¹"Proveen los reyes catolicos por gobernador de la isla Española en lugar de Bobadilla al comendador Nicolás de Ovando; instrucciones que se le dan para el gobierno de las Indias. Año de 1501," in Pablo Beaumont, O.F.M., *Cronica de la provincia de los santos apóstoles S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Michoacan*, Tomo I (1575). Published as Tomo XV of *Biblioteca Historia de la Iberia*, pp. 352-354. Mexico: Imprenta de Ignacio Escalante, 1873.

²"Clausula testamentaria de Maria Isabel," *ibid.*, I, 439.

³"Erección de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Española, y de los primeros obispados en las Indias," *ibid.*, I, 477-483; II, 5-39; III, 319.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, O.F.M. sometime before 1583.¹ Due partly to the hazards of time and partly to the censorship of the Inquisition, the work, as discovered by Father Paschal Saura in the Vatican archives, is fragmentary. This important document was first edited in Rome by Padre José Maria Pou y Martí, O.F.M. in 1924.² Vargas Rea had one hundred copies printed in Mexico in 1944, one of which (number 74) was purchased by the writer.³

Sahagun, professor at the Franciscan Indian college of Tlatelolco, was intellectually analytical and interested in the impact of ideational forces upon one another. When he wrote this little treatise (about 1583) some fifty years had already elapsed since the Cortesian conquest, so that the author could view dispassionately the intentions and purposes of the early friars. Fray Bernardino writes with great praise of the discoveries of Columbus in the islands of Santo Domingo and Española and of the bravery, military acumen, and understanding of Hernando Cortés when he effected his conquest of New Spain in 1519. Cortés notified Charles V, King of Spain, who thereupon sent a complete report to Pope Leo X requesting that pontiff to send suitable persons to attend to the conversion of the idolatrous tribes whom the Spaniards had discovered and conquered. It is evident, therefore, that the main objective of these "suitable persons" as far as Charles V was concerned, was to be conversion.

Leo X, pope during the days of Luther, issued a bull on April 25, 1521, in which he granted plenipotentary powers to two Friars Minor who seem to have volunteered their services.⁴ With obvious reference to the religious upheaval in Europe he writes

¹This work is referred to as El libro perdido de las pláticas o coloquios de los doce primeros misioneros de Mexico.

²Fr. Joseph Pou y Martí, O.F.M., "El libro perdido de las pláticas o coloquios de los doce primeros misioneros de Mexico," Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle, III, 281-333. Rome, 1924.

³Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., Colloquios y doctrina christiana con que los doce frailes de San Francisco embiados por el papa Adriano sexto y por el emperador Carlos quinto convirtieron a los Indios de la Nueva España, 1583, Biblioteca Aportación Histórica. Vargas Rea, editor. Mexico, 1944.

⁴"Bula del Papa Leon X para Fr. Juan Clapion y Fr. Francisco de los Angeles." Incipit: "Alias felicis recordationis," datum Romae die xxv Aprilis MDXXI, in Fr. Valentinus Fricius, Indianischer Religionstand der ganzen Neuen Welt, pp. 1-19. Ingolstadt: Wolfgang Eder, 1588.

to Friars John Clapion and Francis de Los Angeles de Quiñones that they are given full apostolic powers "because of the unsullied religion" of the Franciscan Order. They are to exercise their best energies with the help of God's grace to bring the peoples of New Spain to the "way of true knowledge and to sow the seed of the faith and to engage in other similar salutary works with the permission of their superiors." No one is to interfere with their work in designing and planning agencies that would serve the individual and social advancement of the natives. Hence, Leo X wanted the friars to have a broader objective than mere conversion of the natives; it was to include more abundant individual and social living.

But, before any of the plans could be executed, Pope Leo and Friar Clapion died while Quiñones was elected Minister General of the Order. But Charles V answered the request of Cortés by not only re-emphasizing the need of care for the Indians and the importance of religious instruction but also by actually sending them three Belgian Franciscans, two priests, Juan de Tecto, guardian of the friary of Ghent and the king's confessor, and Juan de Ayora, and the lay-brother, Pedro de Gante, who was to distinguish himself as the greatest full-time Franciscan educator in Spanish North America.¹

The newly elected pontiff Adrian VI was also favorable to the selection of Franciscan personnel and with the advice of the Franciscan General Quiñones, who had himself volunteered for the work, selected twelve friars to whom he gave complete jurisdictional powers to be used as they found it opportune and expedient. Because this bull is so extensive in its grant of power it is called the omnimoda.² While other mendicant orders benefited by these concessions, the Franciscan Order is the only one singled out for special mention. They are to "convert and instruct" and for this reason, in the words of the Pope, they enjoy

¹"Carta de Carlos V. á Hernan Cortes en que se da por satisfecho de sus servicios en Nueva España," De Valladolid: a 15 de octubre de 1522, Collección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, I, 97-100. Madrid, 1842.

²"Bula de Adriano VI para la conversion de los indios." Incipit: "Exponi nobis fecisti," datum Caesaraugustae, die x Maji, MDXXII, in Fricius, op. cit., pp. 1-19.

[illegible]

sicut et el mundo en hebreo la dizecion del mundo
 mundo es el mundo. Namora uno de los nombres
 y uno de los nombres por otra dizecion del mundo y
 de la vida y hebreo que se llama el mundo
 mundo como en los libros de los profetas de los
 profetas y en los libros de los profetas de los
 profetas y en los libros de los profetas de los

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Fig. 3.--Final page of the official commission directed by Fray Francisco de los Angeles ó Quiñones, Franciscan Minister General, to the twelve friars he sent to New Spain, October 4, 1524. (After Riva Palacio from the original of D. Alfredo Chavero.)

. . . . our complete authority in both forums, internal and external, as much as the prelates and those of the brethren deputed by them judge opportune and expedient for the conversion of the said Indians this authority extends also to the exercise of all episcopal acts which do not require episcopal consecration.

This important bull which was re-affirmed by Pope Paul III in his brief of February 15, 1535, was very conducive to Franciscan initiative in Mexico, since it obviated all interference and left the friars free to select any means they deemed fit to accomplish their objectives subject only to veto by the Holy See.¹ These plenipotentiary commissions enabled them to choose formal institutionalized education as one of the major "opportune and expedient" methods for effecting a permanent modification in the social order of the New World by injecting into it the ideology and way of life prevalent in Christian Spain. The authority was commensurate with the responsibility. Pope St. Pius V in 1567 confirmed the privileges of exemption and extended them by the canonical process of inter-communication to all the mendicant orders.²

Sahagun presents a brief descriptive catalog of the twelve Franciscan friars to whom Pope Adrian VI gave these extensive commissions. There were ten priests and two lay-brothers, all members of the Spanish Franciscan province of St. James but working in the custody of St. Gabriel which was subject to the aforementioned province. They are listed as follows:

1. Fray Martin of Valencia, a man of sanctity and learning.
2. Fray Francisco de Soto, very experienced and learned especially in theology.
3. Fray Martin de la Coruna, gifted with simplicity and a prayerful spirit.
4. Fray Thoribio Motolinia, known for his poverty, humility, and literary competence.
5. Fray Francisco Ximenes, a man of sincerity, well versed in canon law.
6. Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, devoted and kind toward all and well-educated.
7. Fray García de Cisneros, quiet and retiring but very erudite.

¹Jeronimo Mendieta, O.F.M., Historia ecclesiastica Indiana (siglo XVI escrita), Lib. III, cap. vii. Mexico, 1870.

²St. Pius V, "Tabulae privilegiorum quae sanctissimus Papa pius quintus concessit fratribus mendicantibus, ... 1567," in Bulla confirmationis et novae concessionis privilegiorum omnium ordinum Mendicantium ... Mexico. Apud Antonium de Spínosa, Anno, 1568.

8. Fray Luis de Fuensalida, highly spiritual and very able in literary expression.

9. Fray Juan de Ribas, charitable and especially competent in the affairs of state.

10. Fray Juan Juarez, of whom very little is known except that he went to Florida.¹

11. Fray Andres de Cordova, a lay-brother, a very religious and industrious person.

12. Fray Juan de Palos also a laic of whom very little is known, except that he went to Florida with Suarez and died there.

The twelve friars who had completed the long and arduous journey not without fatigue and illness were hospitably received by Cortés when they presented their official credentials and commissions from pope and king. During their period of acclimatization they learned much from Cortés, other Spaniards, and the three friars who had preceded them, as well as from their own observation about the social conditions, religious customs, and rites of the natives. The objectives which these so-called twelve apostles had in coming to New Spain can be reduced to ten if we limit the selection to those purposes expressly stated by Padre Sahagun in his prologue and foreword to the "prudent reader." He arrives at his statements from the daily interpreted talks which the early friars had with the Indian chieftains about the reasons for their coming (de la causa de su venida).²

1. They have come to convert the natives to the true God, through the Redeemer Jesus Christ, who preached the same doctrine which he ordered his apostles and successors to teach to all nations.

2. They have been sent on this long and dangerous journey, not for any temporal gain, but for the salvation and spiritual advancement of their souls.

3. They have come to teach a doctrine, which is neither merely human nor composed by human ingenuity, but a doctrine which has its source in divine revelation.

4. They have come to teach the natives about the spiritual kingdom whose ruler is the omnipotent God of Heaven who

¹Apparently Sahagun and his brethren knew little of the activities of Fray Suarez (Juarez). In 1527 he had gone to Spain to secure additional personnel and apparently won favor at the court by pleading the cause of the Indians. That same year the ill-fated Panfilo Narvaez expedition to Florida was organized and Charles V nominated Suarez first bishop of that territory. Though he perished in the shipwreck sometime after reaching his see, he is regarded as the first bishop-elect to set foot on United States territory.

²Sahagun, Colloquios, pp. 11-17, 31-34.

has an earthly vicar in the supreme pontiff of the Catholic Church.

5. They seek the cultural advancement of the natives through the development of their own language arts, the writing of grammars, and vocabularies.

6. They zealously preach and teach Christian doctrine and compose catechisms.

7. They fervently administer the sacraments.

8. They engage in the teaching of such basic skills of civilization as reading, writing, counting, and chant, which facilitate the building of the new social order.

9. They work for the destruction of the temples of idolatrous worship.

10. They build churches and hospitals.

Education, according to Tyler, is assumed to be "a process which seeks to change the behavior patterns of human beings," and the kinds of changes (different ideas and attitudes, interests, ways of thinking, new techniques and skills, novel ways of reacting to experiences, and so on) which educators seek to effect constitute their educational objectives.¹ It is futile to set up curriculum and methods as aims since these are means and not ends in themselves. Changes to be brought about in the many and varied patterns of human life represent the only recognizable objectives in the Franciscan educational venture. These may be specifically stated as follows:

1. Mass changes in theological concepts through Christian doctrine: God, Commandments, Christ, Redemption, Sacrifice of Mass versus human sacrifices, Sacraments, Church.

2. Mass changes in social institutions: monogamous family, private property.

3. Mass acquisition of skills in singing, reading, and writing in Latin characters.

4. Local improvement in techniques of painting, drawing, sculpture.

5. Local acquisition and improvement of skills in architecture, carpentering, masonry, agriculture, cattle-breeding.

6. Selective acquisition by the specially qualified of advanced training in Latin, the rudiments of grammar, arts, medicine and philosophy.

These six specific educational objectives of the friars had to be attained if the previously mentioned general purposes of their coming to the New World were to be accomplished. These larger Franciscan aims were four, namely:

¹Ralph Tyler, "General Statement on Evaluation," Journal of Educational Research, XXXV, No. 7 (March, 1942), 492-501, esp. p. 495.

1. The conversion of the natives to the Christian religion.
2. The building of a Spanish Christian way of life.
3. The promotion of social mobility among the natives.
4. The provision for more abundant individual and social living.

The chapter on the evaluation of the Franciscan educational contribution will show whether or not the six educational objectives were attained and the manner in which each failed or succeeded in promoting the achievement of the ultimate purposes of the Friars Minor in Spanish North America.

CHAPTER V

PETER OF GHENT'S INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Historians who give any attention at all to the educational pattern in early Spanish North America usually mention the work of Brother Peter of Ghent, commonly referred to in Mexico as Fray Pedro de Gante.¹ Though he was the first to concentrate on educational ventures to influence social change, the chronicles of the various Franciscan provinces in New Spain recount the instructional activities of many other Franciscans, so that it is historically safer to consider Peter of Ghent as a prototype, rather than a lone crusader who implemented his philosophy, that the Spanish Christian culture must be made permanent through formal education, by founding and conducting a school in Texcoco (Tetzcoco) and Mexico City.

The first full-time Franciscan educator of Mexico, sometimes also referred to as Pedro de Mura or Peeter Van der Moere, was born in the town of Ayghem-Saint Pierre, a suburb of Ghent in Belgium, probably in 1483.² His early life apparently was spent in the service of the crown, for he was a blood relative of Charles V, and in one of his letters to Philip II mentions the fact, that, before he joined the Franciscans in Ghent he faithfully performed many duties for the royal crown, and that only a higher and divine service directed his energies into other channels.³ At the friary in Ghent, Brother Peter continued his higher

¹In Mexico City a street named for Friar Gante is even at present so-called, despite the revolutions.

²"Noticias que los Franciscanos dieron, em 1569 ó 1570 al Visitador del Consejo de Indias, D. Juan de Ovando," Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI, pp. 33-44. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1886.

³"Carta de Pedro de Gante al Felipe II, Mexico: el 23 de junio de 1558," Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 220. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1889. This is the so-called Codice Franciscano. Its original source is Mex. MS 201 "Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Nueva España," fols. 305. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.



Fig. 4.--Brother Peter of Ghent, O.F.M., the father of Mexican education. (After Riva Palacio from the portrait in the salón de cabildos del ayuntamiento de Mexico.)

studies and merited the friendship of Fray Juan de Tecto, guardian and erstwhile professor of Theology at the Sorbonne, and Fray Juan de Aora, who later were to be his choice companions and assistants.¹

At the age of thirty-nine years, Peter of Ghent with his companions sailed from Seville on May 1, 1523, and arrived at Veracruz on August 13, of the same year.² The three friars seem to have been quite enthused by the reports of the Cortesian conquest, which had been coming into Europe during the previous few years, and had gone to England where Charles V was negotiating an alliance with Henry VIII.³ There the details of their mission were probably drawn up; at any rate, they returned to the north of Spain with the monarch on July 22, 1522, and found the Coyoacán report of Cortés, dated May 15, 1522, waiting for them. That same year Cortés was named Governor and Captain General of New Spain and the provinces thereof, with the provision that he be solicitous for the growth in that country of the Catholic faith and the salvation of the souls of the Indians.⁴ To what extent the friars were instrumental in having this provision included in the citation must remain a matter of conjecture, but they, apparently, lost no time in offering their services to make possible its implementation.

The record indicates that the three friars proceeded from Veracruz to the famous Aztec city of Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City), and, across the former lake, must have seen Tetzaco, where, before the end of the year, Ghent set up what is, perhaps, the earliest known school of European culture designed specifically for the Indians of the New World.⁵ When Father Martin of Valencia

¹Fray Jeronimo Mendieta, O.F.M., Historia eclesiástica Indiana, Lib. III, Parte I, cap. xvii, p. 606; Lib. V, Parte I, cap. iv, p. 187. Mexico (siglo XVI) edition of 1870.

²"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante dirigida el 27 de junio de 1529, en el convento de San Francisco de Mexico a los padres, hermanos y hermanas de la provincia de Flandes y a los que moraban en sus contornos," Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI, pp. 394-400. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1886.

³Ibid., p. 399. ⁴Given at Valladolid, October 15, 1522.

⁵Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Obras historicas, I, 398-399. In Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVI, Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, pp. 32, 43, 44. Mexico, 1891.

arrived with eleven additional friars in the spring of the following year, he found that Brother Peter had gained the good will of the ancients in Tetzco, so that many of the adults along with the children were sufficiently instructed to be baptized.¹

During the early days of their arrival on the continent of the New World, which from the beginning they recognized as their new fatherland, these three men of God set out to learn the native languages, in particular, that of the Aztecs. Father John of Tecto, who had been a professor at the Sorbonne, proved himself so proficient in this language that he soon composed a catechism of the Christian Doctrine in Mexican.² This work, which is probably lost, since it never seems to have been printed because the printing press was not introduced into Mexico till a decade later, was used by Ghent when he wrote his catechetical work.³

Brother Peter lived in Tetzco more than three and a half years during which time he made various trips to Tlaxcala and other neighboring provinces, always taking special interest in educational work among the youth. Likewise, with the aid of his companions, John of Tecto and John of Ayora, much re-education was going on among the adults, as the leading citizens and rulers of Tetzco were initiated into European culture and the religion of Christ.⁴ It was a sad day for Ghent when this educational triumvirate was broken, a year and a half later, by the death of both priests who had perished while accompanying Cortés on his expedition to the Hibueras.⁵

Following the conqueror who established his headquarters on the ruins of Montezuma's palace, Fray Pedro decided to move from Tetzco to Mexico City, which as the center of business and

¹Ibid.

²Primeros rudimentos de la doctrina cristiana en lengua Mexicana. For further details on this work confer Jose Mariano Bersitain: Biblioteca hispano-americano setentrional, Mexico, 1816, 1819 y 1821.

³Ibid.

⁴"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante ... 29 de junio de 1529 ...," par. 6, as cited in Ezequiel A. Chávez, Fray Pedro de Gante, p. 134, n. 13. Mexico, 1943.

⁵Ibid.; "Cartas de Gante al Carlos V del 31 octubre de 1532 y del 15 de febrero de 1552," Cartas de Indias, pp. 51-54 and 92-103.

population, was considered by him most conducive to his educational work. This change was effected some time close to the beginning of 1527. By that time, due to a considerable increase in their numbers, the Friars Minor had constructed a large Franciscan church in the ancient city; perpendicular to it was a chapel called "San José de Belén de los Naturales."¹ A brief description of this Franciscan establishment is furnished incidentally by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, professor at the University of Mexico in 1560. He published a pamphlet² on the Mexico City celebration of the obsequies of Emperor Charles V in 1559. He wrote that the patio of St. Francis was quadrangular and very large, long and broad, surrounded on all sides by high walls of stone. There were two large gates, one at the north wall, the other at the west wall. The south and east walls had entrances leading to the church and monastery. Many beautiful trees provided shade and fruit; a large wooden cross, symbolizing the tree of life stood in the center. It was so high that it could be seen at a distance of three or four leagues. To the north was Ghent's chapel of St. Joseph to which access was had via two staircases; it was very commodious, had seven naves, and was built on many ornamental columns. In this chapel and patio 40,000 persons could be accommodated. Salazar claims it was crowded during the memorial service for Charles V. A picture of one of the patios a century or two later is shown on a later page.

Realizing the advantageous location of this chapel, Brother Peter seized the opportunity to convert it into an educational institution which would easily integrate its program with that of the church and thus become a powerful means of social control, as the old order began to change. That the re-location of Ghent's school was justified can be shown by a brief description of the physical plant. There were seven large naves beyond the immense portico of the building, while on the side were the apartments or rooms for the school.

But many difficulties remained to be overcome in those

¹"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante a Carlos V, del 15 de febrero de 1552," Cartas de Indias, pp. 92-93. Madrid, 1877.

²Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, Tumulo imperial dela gran ciudad de Mexico. En Mexico: Por Antonio de Espinosa, 1560. 26 numbered leaves. Henry E. Huntington Collection, San Marino, California.

Fig. 5.--Native photographs with Spanish transcriptions commemorating the visitation of Licenciado Valderrama in 1568. Note the three Franciscan schools, St. Joseph, St. John Lateran, and St. Mary, and the picture of Pedro de Gante. (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid--after Perez Bustamante.)

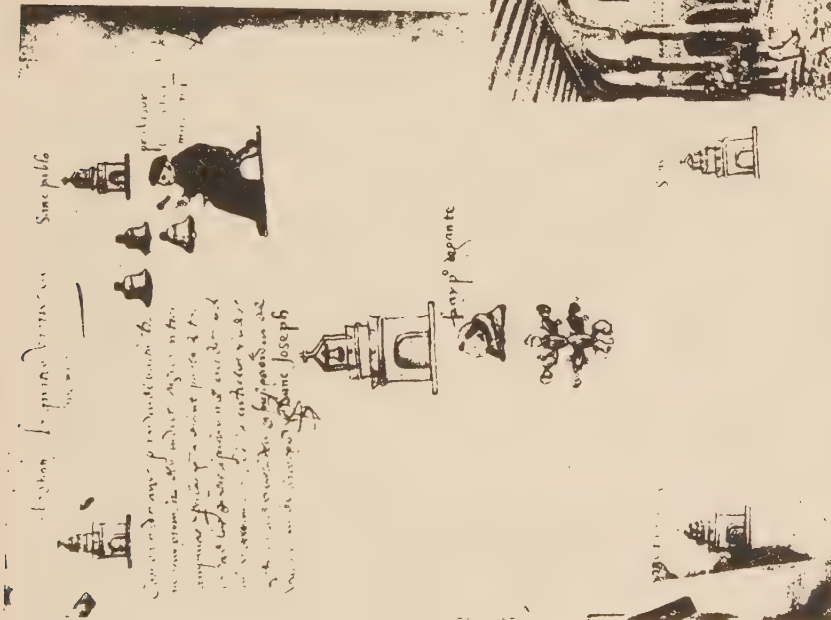


Fig. 6.--Inner court or patio of old Franciscan friary in Mexico City where Chent's school was located. After an old print.



days of educational experimentation with Indians whose language and customs differed so profoundly and whose intelligence and attitudes still had to be explored. The weapon of conquest used by Peter and the friars was not from the arsenal of the Spanish conquistadores; it was a God-centered program of education. Of such magnitude were the obstacles inherent in carrying out this educational project, that, frequently, Ghent desired to return permanently to Flanders.¹

Already before the conquest of Mexico, King Ferdinand, acting under the advice of Cortés, had issued a decree that the sons of all native caciques be obligated to live separated from their fathers and that, until thirteen years of age, they be educated by the Franciscans to read and write, to speak Spanish, and learn the doctrine.² This policy of confinement and separation from parents was unequivocally condemned by the father of Mexican education. Though he apparently had to comply with the royal order, he reveals his chagrin in one of his early letters.³

Twenty and forty leagues are round about us and they (numbering more than a thousand) are cloistered day and night in a new and for them frightening house where they have no conversation with their fathers and certainly not with their mothers and where they are permitted to talk only with those who serve them and bring them food.

And yet, some thirty years later, in a letter to Philip II he evaluated the work of his religious⁴ who, in their poverty, worked hard with new projects for a nation that did not understand, and reaped the success of their efforts, since their students forgot their bloody idolatries and excessive sacrifices.⁵

¹"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante ... 27 de junio de 1529 ..., " op. cit.

²"Cedula de Fernando el Catolico, Valladolid, 23 de enero de 1513," as cited in Chavez, op. cit., p. 30.

³"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante ... el 27 de junio, 1529 ..., " op. cit.

⁴The term "religious" designates members of a religious order.

⁵"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante al rey Felipe II, 23 de junio, 1558," par. 1, Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 220. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1889.

They had been like animals without reason in the fields and hamlets, untamed, and did not easily lend themselves to doctrine and assembly, and would quickly escape like barbarians from the friars, and, especially, from the other Spaniards.

In the course of his constant association with the Indians, Friar Ghent learned their Aztec tongue so much like a native, that, in writing to Europe, he found it difficult to express himself without employing some Nahuatl.¹ But learning the language was only one difficulty to be surmounted. He set himself to study first hand their conditions, ideals of perfection, the peculiarities of their social relations, and the underlying psychology of their customs.² When he discovered that their total worship consisted in singing and dancing before their idols, he sought to wean them away by ingeniously composing songs about the law of God and the faith, intending thereby to teach them how God became man and sacrificed himself to save the human race, and how he was born of the immaculate Virgin Mary.³

Ghent's plan was not to destroy the method of singing and ritualistic dancing employed by the Indians, but rather to adjust and direct it to serve Christian rather than pagan services. For several months before Christmas he would guide the Indians in painting symbolic colored figures on their clothes, minus the hideousness and superstitions of their old religion, and through this activity and project method was able to teach them considerable Christian doctrine.⁴ In these robes they danced as was their custom and sang songs of joy, sorrow, and victory, according to the types of costume which they wore. Their desire for poetry and painting, for music and the dance, was thus satisfied, while at the same time, its objective was at least ostensibly transferred from paganism to Christianity, from an attitude of placating cruel and revengeful idols to an appreciation of a pardoning and loving Father. To quote further from Brother Peter's letter to Philip II will convey to the reader the great and powerful influence which the dramatic Christmas presentations had on all the neighborhood:

¹Ibid., p. 224.

²Ibid., p. 223.

³Ibid., p. 224.

⁴"Cartas de Fray Pedro de Gante ... del 23 de junio, 1558, " op. cit., and "del 29 de junio, de 1529, " loc. cit.

. . . . hither are summoned all the relatives, from the entire vicinity--from twenty leagues distant--to Mexico they come to the Christmas fiesta of Our Redeemer in such large numbers that the patio cannot contain them and what a large number are in the portico. Each province has its reserved place where the leaders are seated some of whom have come seven or eight leagues, the sick are brought in hammocks others have come six or ten leagues by water to hear on this Christmas eve the song of the angels "for this night is born the Redeemer of the World." In the patio of our holy father St. Francis they have erected a cross two hundred feet high which still adorns the patio today.¹

Thus Fray Pedro brought home to the pupils and their parents alike many of the fundamentals of Christian civilization through gentleness and understanding and psychological methods which are considered progressive even by educators of the present. The churches built under his direction in the outlying districts were so designed and the equipment was so chosen, that they served as visual aids for the doctrinal teaching and preaching of the friars to an illiterate people.²

"My office," he wrote to his brethren in Ghent, "is to preach and to teach, day and night. During the day I teach reading, writing, and singing; at night I read the christian doctrine and preach."³

To teach reading to Indians whose language was without alphabet and grammar, and whose idiom, even when spoken, was punctuated with musical cadences and inexplicable pauses must have required patience and ingenuity. One can readily understand why these early educators, after experimenting with simple Castilian sentences, resorted to a phonetic transcription and grammatic arrangement of the Indian languages and to figurative writing or hieroglyphics of their own invention. In these, at least, the Indians were experienced. Brother Peter himself is credited with composing a catechism of Christian doctrine in hieroglyphs for the instruction of Mexican children.⁴ A copy thereof still exists

¹Ibid.

²"Carta de Fray Pedro a sus hermanos de Gante del 29 de junio de 1529," op. cit.

³"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante del 27 de junio, 1529," loc. cit.

⁴Narciso Sentenach, "Catecismos de la doctrina Cristiana, en jeroglificos, para la enseñanza de los indios americanos," Revista de Archivos, 1900, pp. 599-609.



Fig. 7.--One of the Franciscan pictographic methods of teaching the Lord's prayer. (After Riva Palacio.)



Fig. 8.--Several folios from Brother Peter Ghent's hieroglyphic catechism. (After Perez Bustamante from the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.)

in the National Library in Madrid.¹ These attempts of the famous Flemish friar to objectify his teachings and to adapt them to the varied mental conditions and aptitudes which he found among the Indians, reveal his personal concern and responsibility for the results of his efforts.

An interesting sidelight on Gante's school in Mexico City is given us by Mendieta.² He tells us of a venerable old priest, Fray Juan Caro, who was assisting in teaching chant at the school, but had no knowledge of the Aztec language. With resolute spirit he daily taught the rules of chant in Spanish with more zeal than cleverness, so that by sheer drill and persistent repetition the young men mastered plain chant as well as singing with organ accompaniment. From the school they would be sent into the pueblos, there to teach what they had absorbed from the drilling of the old Spanish Franciscan.

Gante did not neglect the teaching of the industrial and fine arts in his school.³ The Indians were, furthermore, taught to read liturgical Latin, to construct and play musical instruments under the direction of a Frenchman, Fray Arnaldo de Basaccio while an Italian lay-brother, Friar Daniel, was recruited to teach the fine art of making vestments for divine services and embroidery which, as sixteenth century museum pieces in Mexico City show, reached a very high degree of excellence. Fray Diego Valadez, O.F.M., according to the findings of Dr. Nicholas Leon, was instructor of drawing and design at Ghent's school.⁴ That Valadez was an expert, can be seen from the illustrative sketches in his Rhetorica Christiana, published at Perugia in 1579. Some of these are reproduced on later pages of this volume.

The historian Mendieta writes of the wonderful adaptation to individual differences, which under Ghent's guidance, was exer-

¹Ciriaco Perez Bustamante, "Don Antonio de Mendoza," Annales de la Universidad de Santiago, III, 96. Santiago, 1928. Examine the accompanying illustration.

²Fray Jeronimo Mendieta, O.F.M., Historia eclesiastica Indiana, cap. iv del Libro IV, p. 412. Incident is narrated after quotations from letter of Ghent to Philip II on June 23, 1558.

³Mendieta, op. cit., Libro IV, caps. v, xiii, xv.

⁴Roberto Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle", p. 255.

cised in this early institution.¹

Attending to the talents and aptitudes of each individual and to progress and acceleration, they were first exercised in the more common duties and trades such as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and other similar occupations and then in those of greater acumen.

Whether or not the humble Franciscan lay-brother was aware of it, Pedro de Gante organized his school to serve the complete individual as well as society. As an instrument of social control, it began to shift the core values of the old society by teaching the youth and adults who cared to come, principles, ideals, occupations, and practices of life which their parents and forebears had not known. The program of education was close to the life of Spanish Europe and those who mastered it were given the privileges and social prestige of the Gacupines.² Many became judges and mayors of towns and exercised other civil privileges in the new social order for which they had been trained in the school of Gante and the other Franciscan schools, which in the course of time had arisen and copied the program of San José de Belén in Mexico City.³

There seems to have been some very close connection between Ghent's school and the colegio de San Juan de Letran to which this dissertation devotes a separate chapter. While it is not at all clear whether they were united in their beginnings the evidence to be cited relative to St. John Lateran school is weighty enough to show that it, at least in the course of years, emerged as a separate institution. Ghent continued his educational work in Mexico City until his death in 1572, while San Juan de Letran was turned over to the administration of secular priests as early as 1557.⁴

The author's reasons for surmising the identical origin of the two schools is the similarity of the clientele to which both schools originally ministered. From the quotation to be

¹Mendieta, op. cit., Libro IV, cap. xiii, pp. 407-410.

²Whites born in Spain seeking advancement in the New World.

³Mendieta, op. cit., Libro III, Parte I, cap. iv, p. 187.

⁴The reader will find evidence for this statement in the chapter on St. John Lateran school.

given in a later chapter relative to the city council's decree of July 12, 1529, for the establishment of St. John Lateran school, it appears that the first pupils were those housed in the infirmary near the medicinal spring.¹ Now, in a letter written by Brother Peter just three years later he pleads for two or three thousand Spanish bushels of corn to be given to him each year, a thousand for the school and the rest for the infirmary and the sick, since all the natives are so very poor.² In a postscript he adds that there are always many sick, at times as many as three and four hundred, in the infirmary. He tells Charles V that many of them are cured and, seeing the charity exercised toward them and having a fair understanding of the instruction given them, become Christians. It is also evident from the same minutes of the indicated city council's decree, that a house was to be given to the monastery of St. Francis for hospitalization and instructional purposes. This occurred, it will be recalled, just two and a half years after Gante had transferred his original school from Tetzecoco to the chapel of San José adjoining the large Franciscan church in Mexico City.

In 1552 there seems to have been a hospital for Indians in the city which was quite distinct from the school for boys, though Brother Peter did not lose interest in caring for the sick.³ The letter of 1532 made mention of his special interest in nursing and in some phases of health education, though he states his main duty, in general, was to teach Christian doctrine in the Indian tongue to the princes of the neighborhood and surrounding towns, such as Tetzecoco and Tlaxcala, and to do all those things, which in diverse manners assisted in their conversion, such as teaching the natives to sing and chant, to read and write, to preach and to work for the destruction of idols and idolatry.⁴

¹Segundo libro de actas de cabildo de la ciudad de Mexico, pp. 5-6. Ignacio Bejarano, editor; edition of 1889 in the Archivo Municipal de la Ciudad de Mexico.

²"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante al Emperador Don Carlos exponiéndole sus trabajos en la doctrina é instruccion de los indios. Mexico, 31 de octubre de 1532." (Facsimile F), Cartas de Indias, Num. 23, pp. 51-54. Madrid, 1877.

³"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante al emperador D. Carlos ... 15 de febrero de 1552," op. cit., pp. 92-103.

⁴"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante al emperador D. Carlos ...

After working day and night for thirty years among the Indian boys and young men under forty (niños y mancebos yndios) in the Franciscan school of St. Joseph, Ghent claims considerable success for his friars. The students can serve mass, aid in liturgical chant, construct and play musical instruments; they can read and write, they know their doctrine and can preach to others.¹ In many ways, therefore, the institution closely resembled the early type of European monastic school, and cannot be regarded as a uniquely Franciscan colegio de los niños, except in as far as the friars founded and conducted it exclusively for the Indians with the special papal privilege of exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.²

While, as a religious,³ Peter of Ghent had founded his school primarily for the spiritual enrichment of the natives, it must not be thought that his institution neglected those aspects of civic education which were essential to Spanish colonial power and the spread of hispanic culture. His graduates fitted into the emerging political life of Mexico as scribes, judges, and subjects. Union of church and state was an important element in the policy of conquest, and neither Cortés, the Spanish home government, nor the Catholic church were inclined to depart therefrom. Brother Gante, therefore, in practice, seconded the demand of Cortés, who, in his letter to Charles V, in October, 1524, wrote of the political advancement of Mexico, stating that he desired always that the grand city of Temixtitlan be rebuilt in greatness and grandeur and that an effort must be made to bring the natives, who, until the invasion, had for the most part lived scattered, into the population centers.⁴ For this purpose, a captain general should be selected who can recall the days of Monteczuma, and to

31 de octubre de 1532," op. cit., pp. 51-54.

¹"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante al emperador D. Carlos ... 15 de febrero de 1552," op. cit., pp. 92-103.

²Ibid.

³The term "religious" is used here to designate a member of an Order.

⁴"Carta de Hernando Cortés Emperador Carlos V, 15 de octubre de 1524." Translated by J. Bayard Morris. Hernando Cortes, Five Letters, 1519-1526, p. 283. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1929.

whom the task of rebuilding and populating should be entrusted; the greater authority this person possessed and the more he might know about those ancient times, Cortés wrote to Charles V, the greater success will he have in the government of this city. Cortés and Ghent agreed in promoting civic government among the Indians, and sought to effect a rapprochement between colonial policy and native attitudes.

Ghent's civic interest, which was already manifest in 1524, may also have been a contributing factor in the re-location of his school from Tetzco to Mexico City three years later. There were many Spaniards in the latter city and Spanish was becoming the main means of oral and written communication there; furthermore, such an environment was more conducive to miscegenation between the races and was a powerful force in aiding the Indians to assimilate the Spanish Christian social order. Whether Ghent actually reasoned thus is not as certain as Chavez intimates; but, that he was thus lifting the civic and social status of his charges, is certain.¹

Ghent's philosophy of social change was definitely on the side of social planning and experimentation; a high degree of individualism and laissez faire would, therefore, not be found in the educational institution which, though new to America, was the dynamic vehicle of cultural transmission in Western Europe. He helped Spain seize the power controls through the instrumentality of formal education for civic life, and through the same medium sought to make Christianity the dominating factor in the new social controls.

His school was concerned with identifying, and, in as far as possible, harmonizing the essential elements of both Aztec and European social orders, thus socializing youth to institutions fundamental to the resulting civilization. St. Joseph's school served as such an agency of social integration and social control even until Gante's death some time in April, 1572.² We know little about this colegio after Brother Peter's burial among the natives he loved, but the pattern of social control set by Ghent was employed by the Jesuits as early as 1575, when under the

¹Ezequiel A. Chavez, Fray Pedro de Gante, pp. 47-48. Mexico, 1943.

²Ibid., p. 105; Mendieta, op. cit., p. 611.

leadership of Padre Pedro Sanchez they opened the colegio de San Gregorio.¹

Peter of Ghent was held in high esteem by both his superiors and the natives. Three times, according to Mendieta, he was called to be ordained priest, namely, by Pope Paul III, by the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order, and by the apostolic nuncio at the court of Charles V.² Three times he refused, writing on one occasion to the emperor, that as a lay-brother he would have more time and opportunity to engage in teaching.³ That he was beloved by those whom he so faithfully taught for almost fifty years may be illustrated by the fact that Archbishop Alonso de Montufar, O.P., successor to the first prelate of Mexico, the Franciscan Zumárraga, stated shortly after his installation that not he was the archbishop of Mexico, but Fray Pedro, lay-brother of St. Francis.⁴ Chavez is of the opinion that Ghent refused the archbishopric proffered him through the Spanish court after Zumárraga's death; but the evidence is inconclusive.⁵ To illustrate the devotion of the Indians toward their teacher, Mendieta related, that, when Brother Peter was called to Tlaxcala on one occasion, the Indians received him in grand style meeting him on the large lake of Tetzococo with a beautiful flotilla of canoes, adorned as if for a solemn fiesta.⁶

Ghent's democratic spirit of education for all is seen in his insistence that the poor Indians in Xalisco be exempted from the tribute so that they might more easily exchange their nomadic life to a more settled condition in the pueblos where the king would gain them as vassals and Christ would win their souls.⁷ Rather than have the natives completely support his educational project, he asks for government aid; thus, in 1532, he sought an

¹Ibid., pp. 112-113.

²Mendieta, op. cit., p. 610.

³"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante ... Carlos V, del 31 de octubre de 1532," Cartas de Indias, p. 52.

⁴Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 609.

⁵Chavez, op. cit., p. 87.

⁶Mendieta, op. cit., Libro V, Parte primera, cap. xviii.

⁷"Letter to Emperor Charles, February 15, 1552," Cartas de Indias, Num. XVIII, pp. 101-102.

annual supply of three thousand Spanish bushels of corn, one thousand for the school, and two thousand for the sick in the infirmary.¹ He writes to the emperor that the natives help the school in as far as they can, but, that the objective of the school is not yet realized (1552) and, therefore, considering the great number to be educated, in his kindness, the king should send five or six hundred pesos each year.² Without this help it would be impossible to continue the work of teaching "to which I have devoted my life."³ Charles V, for a number of years gave three hundred ducats to support those who were taught to read, write, sing, and play musical instruments at San José.⁴

The extra-curriculum was not left unorganized at Ghent's colegio, though it was primarily religious in character. The confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament was organized, like many a modern school club, with its set of officers democratically elected, its emblems, by-laws, meetings, emphasis on fellowship, and distinctive objectives and practices.⁵

In successfully influencing the Indians to react favorably toward the body of core values and common ideas in the Spanish Catholic ideology, Ghent introduced some real workshop and field laboratory methods. In some respects his school took on the character of a preacher's seminary, from which he sent some fifty students out on Sundays to preach in the city and announce the Gospel to the people who lived within a radius of some thirty leagues.⁶ They would then return and present their difficulties and problems to the master, so that their projects might be more successful through his guidance. Teaching in Brother Peter's school was, therefore, very closely associated with the activity of the students and definitely correlated with real life situations. This praiseworthy and intelligent procedure may account, at least in part, for the great success reported by Gante. He and another

¹"Carta de Fray Pedro ... 31 de octubre de 1532," op. cit., pp. 51-54.

²Cartas de Indias, Num. XVIII, p. 99.

³Ibid.

⁴Mendieta, op. cit., Libro IV, cap. xxix, p. 483.

⁵Roberto Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique, pp. 220-221.

⁶"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante 27 de junio, 1529," loc. cit.

companion had baptized more than 200,000 before the end of 1529.¹ Callcott mentions another reason for this phenomenal acceptance of the new social order, namely that the sons of the caciques were frequently selected for special instruction by the friars, and the social prestige attached to their becoming Christian weighed heavily in favor of the new ideology among the masses.²

The success which this Franciscan lay-brother had was not entirely due to ingenuity and understanding. He often had to fight his way to success in the face of open opposition from those in high places who were more solicitous for the Spaniards' economic gain than they were to civilize the Indians for the latter's own advantage. As revealed in Gante's letter to the king in 1552 and in the viceroy's communication a year later, Brother Peter rose to a splendid defense of Indian liberty demanding that these newly converted natives be confirmed in their rights as vassals of the crown and not be subjected to slavery in the fields and mills.³ He denounced their mistreatment as also that of the Negroes as slaves and greatly resented the cruel mistreatment, such as buffetings and scalping, which drove many back to the mountains and led to family desertion.⁴ He minced no words and put the blame directly on the king, stating, that if he permitted enslavement he would find Mexico as desolate of inhabitants in thirty years as the islands of the Antilles, and that his conscience would be stained with the destruction of many souls.⁵ He predicted that if the Indians were sold off into slavery, the country without them would be worth nothing, and concluded with an appeal to God for the king's enlightenment, and a reminder of his own and Mendoza's services for the Indian and the crown.⁶

¹Ibid.; Mendieta, op. cit., p. 483.

²Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, "Religious Conditions in Mexico," University of Miami Hispanic-American Studies, p. 236. Coral Gables, Florida, November, 1939.

³"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante ... a Carlos V ... el 15 de febrero de 1552," Cartas de Indias, Num. XVIII, pp. 93-94 in Tomo VIII; "Carta de Don Luis de Velasco ... a la emperador ... 4 de mayo de 1553," Cartas de Indias, Num. XLIX, pp. 263-269.

⁴"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante a Carlos V, del 15 de febrero de 1552," Cartas de Indias, p. 94.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 96.

We know definitely what Ghent's stand on slavery was, but we are not certain about his viewpoint on the encomienda and repartimiento systems. Chavez claims, that if Ghent had had sufficient contact with the encomenderos and the informal educational opportunities provided the Indians by being in the protective custody of the Spaniards, he would have seen great advantages in these social institutions.¹ His condemnatory tone on the great inconveniences of these systems is quite evident in his letter to Philip II and it takes more than pages of explanation to outweigh his resentment.²

Ghent's preference for the Indians is revealed in his objection to Archbishop Montúfar when the latter desired to turn over several churches built by the friars for the Indians to the increasing numbers of Spaniards in Mexico.³

¹Chavez, op. cit., p. 85.

²"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante a Felipe II ... el 23 de junio ... de 1558," loc. cit.

³Chavez, op. cit., p. 89.

CHAPTER VI

ZUMÁRRAGA'S EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

The conquest of the old social order in New Spain was intended by both civil and ecclesiastical powers to be permanent. The Franciscan task was the building of a series of new spiritual controls modelled upon the civilization of Western Europe, since Catholic Christianity as lived in Spain was, at the time of Cortés, the backbone of this European social order. Of all the religious orders that later ministered to the needs of the people in Spanish North America, the Franciscan family was the first on the scene and the first to set the plan and put techniques into practice, not merely for the transfer of the new civilization, but for crystallizing, adapting, and permanently establishing Christian Spanish culture on the American continent.

The highest ranking Franciscan leader in this prodigious endeavor was Juan de Zumárraga, first bishop of Mexico. He saw in the educational activities being carried on by Peter of Ghent and other friars the instrument for securing Christian control of the new environment, by socializing youth not to the indigenous institutions of their forefathers, but to those of the old world. On his arrival in Mexico as bishop-elect in the autumn of 1528 Zumárraga gave encouragement and support to Ghent. This is clearly indicated in a letter which Brother Peter, the most noted full-time educator of early Mexico, sent to Emperor Charles V almost twenty years later.¹ The lay-brother terms Zumárraga "the true father of these natives" who

. . . . was always my companion in my work with them
working as a true father in the service of God and Your
Majesty for the conversion and instruction of these natives,

¹"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante al emperador D. Carlos. De Mexico: á 20 de julio de 1548," Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 197-198. Codice Franciscano (Siglo XVI). Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico: Antigua Librería, 1889.



Fig. 9.--Fray Juan de Zumárraga, O.F.M. (1528-1548), the first bishop of Mexico. After an old painting in the Museo Nacional.

both spiritually and temporally, by giving alms and printing catechisms and books at his own expense in order to instruct them in that which was necessary.

Ghent's plan of formal education in civilizing the natives, therefore, found an ardent champion and progressive leader in Juan Zumárraga.

In 1531 while still bishop-elect¹ Zumárraga sent a report to the General Chapter of the Order in Toulouse, France, in which he recounted that many boys and others of more mature years were learning to read, write, and sing very efficiently, and since the religious have instructed them very well in matters pertaining to religion, they preach the word of God to others with considerable elegance.

Each convent of our friars [he writes], has a building adjoining it for teaching the boys; this building contains a school, dormitory, refectory, and chapel. The young men are very humble and docile to the religious and love to be with the fathers. They are chaste, quite intelligent, and very skillful in the art of painting. Among all the friars who know the language of the Indians the most proficient is Friar Peter of Ghent, a religious lay-brother, who has a very elegant understanding of it, and has in his care more than 600 young men.²

The same pastoral zeal which prompted Mexico's first bishop to interest himself in the education of the Indian boys wherever a friary existed, was too democratic and far-sighted to overlook the formal instruction of girls. It was Zumárraga who first advised the Empress Isabel, that educational institutions should be founded for the advancement of the Indian girls and obtained her active co-operation in this project.³ Again when the social problem created by the miscegenation of Spanish soldiers and Indian women became alarming, it was Zumárraga who had pity

¹Zumárraga was named Bishop of Mexico on December 12, 1527; he took possession of his see in the autumn of 1528 but because of a conflict with the Audiencia over the right of asylum, he was accused to the Emperor and the Franciscan General Chapter. Only after successfully defending himself was he actually consecrated bishop on April 27, 1533. (Cf. Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, II, 64-85. Aachen: Xaverius-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924.)

²"Carta of Zumárraga to the General Chapter, 1531," in Estanislao J. de Labayrn y Goicoechea, *Vida del Iltmo. y Venerable Bizcaino D. Fr. Juan de Zumárraga*, pp. 78-79. Bilbao España Imprenta de "La Propaganda," 1896.

³Mendieta, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

on the abandoned orphans, and with the aid of viceroy Mendoza, founded schools for the mestizos and mestizas. In 1530, four virtuous women who had come to Mexico as teachers made their religious vows in the hands of Zumárraga.¹

The Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley contains two Zumárraga documents which throw further light upon the Bishop's educational outlook. In his first pastoral letter, an original manuscript dated 1534, he gives thanks for men of erudition, piety, and military acumen who penetrated the unknown regions, and having destroyed idolatry, set up the banner of the cross on such a magnificent scale that in a short time the Supreme Pontiff Clement VII deemed this territory worthy for the establishment of the Roman hierarchy.² Dwelling at some length on his own humble Franciscan origin, he outlines his democratic policy of mass education in the faith. It is his command "that **the** converts, as well as the faithful in parochial churches, be educated in the faith and that the ministers of religion instruct, teach, and confirm and minister the sacraments of the church to them." In describing the structure, equipment, and personnel of his cathedral, he indicates that chant is to be taught for the right performance of the cathedral choir and that a scholastría is to be set up, in which only a Bachelor of Arts, with a degree from some general university, is to teach grammar to the clerics and the ministers of the church and all diocesans who desire, either personally or by proxy, to attend the lectures. The section on finance is indicative of interest in the education of a native clergy, since he announces his intention to give such Indians prebends, patrimonies, and benefices according to their capacities.

The second document is one of Zumárraga's textbooks of religion.³ It is a primer of Catholic knowledge and practice for the Indians, and is divided into five sections:

¹Fr. Agustin de Vetancurt, O.F.M., Teatro Mexicano, II, 342 (1697-1698). Tomo VIII, Biblioteca historica de la Iberia. Mexico, 1871.

²"Pastoral del Imo. Sr. D. Juan de Zumárraga sobre fundacion de la Catedral de Mexico, Año de 1534," Mexican MSS 256. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

³Don Fray Juan Zumárraga, O.F.M., Doctrina Christiana. Impresa en Mexico, 1546.

1. Things to be believed--the apostle's creed and the articles of faith.
2. Things to be observed--the ten commandments and the Christian Law.
3. Things to be asked for--the petitions of the Our Father.
4. Things to be done--reception of the sacraments.
5. Things to be heard--Mass and sermons.

The author employs primitive though suitable woodcuts to illustrate his text. But, it is particularly the prologue which is most pertinent in this discussion; his philosophy of reading makes a clear-cut distinction between the means and the end.

When pupils have learned to read it is up to the school, for the welfare of both state and church, to provide good reading material so that the reading of useless things be avoided with the same care as the association with vain companions. Hence, during leisure hours, productive manual labor should be encouraged.

Though written in Spanish, the bishop intended the catechism to be a simple exposition of doctrine and practice for the young Indian neophytes, perhaps not directly, but through Spanish catechists, or such Indians who were trained in the various friaries. In fact, in emphasizing the pastoral duty of teaching, lest ignorance abound, he emphasizes its value for both teachers and pupils. To what extent Spanish was taught to the Indians at this early date is unknown.

The prologue also includes an interesting comparison between teaching and preaching. Zumárraga approved of sermons by serious and learned men, but he emphasized the great need which Mexico had for teachers and catechists. He desired that a catechetical method be followed, because, he writes, "if we teach catechetically those taught can teach their children."¹

Several unpublished letters of the first bishops of Mexico and Oaxaca written in 1537 were recently edited by France V. Scholes of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The second of these is an urgent plea for the maintenance and improvement of their schools for boys and girls.² The diocesan prelates tell

¹Ibid., p. 5.

²"Carta de los obispos de Mexico y Oaxaca a su majestad, xxii de set. de 1537," Archivo General de Indias, Mexico 2555, S.C.C.M. France V. Scholes. In The Americas, I, No. 1 (July, 1944), 104-106.

his majesty of the good which has been done through intellectual and moral training and cite the difficulties which the teachers are having in providing clothes, shoes, medicines, and in paying doctor bills, and costs ensuing from the construction of new buildings. The humble wording of the letter not only reflects a deep and abiding personal interest in these elementary schools, but, as we shall see, was also effective in procuring the desired assistance.

Again, on November 25, 1537, Zumárraga wrote to the council about the colegio de los grammaticos indios which he commanded to be constructed in the name of his majesty after receiving information from the bishop of Santo Domingo, Fuenleal.¹ He writes of the Franciscan religious in charge who have begged books, paper, and medicines, but since he has been informed that he is responsible for the Tlaltelolco institution, he hopes that the royal council will listen to his request that the revenues from a town (Tenayuca, two leagues distant) be given to the college and the students, so that the corregidor (mayor) might give as tribute three hundred ducats or pesos which, in his opinion, would sustain up to three hundred students.

A secret of Zumárraga's success consisted in keeping the emperor informed of his educational ventures through his letters of gratitude for monies received from the crown. Thus, he thanks his majesty profusely for tithes received for the schools in the pueblo of Ocuytucó, where the boys are educated in the monasteries which flourish there, as in a little Rome, and where the Indian girls, timid and docile, are accepted, even at the tender age of five or six years, in the casa de educacion conducted by devout women teachers.²

The honors of the episcopacy, to which the humble Franciscan was elevated, made him very conscious of his duty to the natives. As a man of vision, Zumárraga knew that the future of

¹"Carta de D. Juan de Zumárraga al consejo, acusando el recibo de tres cedulas ... y trata del colegio de los grammaticos indios y de la cosa para hijas de ... los naturales. De Mexico, a 24 de noviembre de 1537," Boletín de la real academia de la historia, XVII, 29-31. Madrid, 1890.

²"Carta de D. Fray Juan de Zumárraga, fecha á 25 de noviembre de 1536 al emperador," Boletín de la real academia de la historia, XVII, 13-17. Madrid, 1890.

Mexico was bound up with their cultural advancement. He believed in the intellectual and moral capabilities of the Indians, and therefore, included college training in his educational planning. A royal cedula or decree executed by the queen in Valladolid on September 3, 1536, the original manuscript of which was preserved in the Cathedral of Mexico City before confiscation by the secular power, refers to Zumárraga's report on the favorable and intelligent examinations passed by the native Indian sons of New Spain who were then studying grammar in the monasteries.¹ Many were found to possess great ability, alertness, and ingenuity together with an excellent memory. Because of this ability in the study of grammar and other branches, the queen notified the president and councillors of the colony concerning the opening of a college in the parish of St. James at Tlaltelolco. Because better facilities existed there, about seventy young students transferred from the monasteries and entered the said college on the feast of the kings (January 6, 1537). In September, 1537, Zumárraga petitioned the emperor for additional facilities, such as buildings, infirmaries, books, and asked that the revenue of the town of Tenayuca be given for the maintenance of Indian higher education in Tlaltelolco.² This Franciscan college, which certainly ranks among the first institutions of higher education in the Americas, was exclusively for the Indians, and, until 1606, carried out its high mission of social change which Zumárraga had inspired.³

Toward the end of 1537 before the Indian school at Tlaltelolco had time to celebrate its first anniversary Zumárraga gave vent in writing to an interest which he said fired him and preoccupied him very seriously.⁴ With great force he stresses his contention

¹Alberto Maria Carreño, "El Colegio de Tlaltelolco y la cultura indigena en el siglo XVI," Divulgación Histórica, Vol. I, No. 5.

²Cf. The Americas, loc. cit.

³Fr. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., El Primer Colegio de America--Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco, pp. 8-9, 83-85. Mexico, 1944.

⁴"Carta de obispo de Mexico, Fr. Juan de Zumárraga, á Juan de Samano, Secretario de S.M. haciendole presentes algunas necesidades de sus diocesanos y rogándole que apoyara su proyecto de edificación de colegios y monasterios para jóvenes de ambos sexos. Mexico á 20 de diciembre de 1537," Cartas de Indias, pp. 165-176. Madrid.

that in every city and in every bishopric¹ there should be a college for young Indian boys where they might learn grammar at least, and also a large monastery in each locality where a large number of girls, daughters of the Indians accepted from their parents at the age of six or seven years, might be instructed and taught industry and the domestic arts in the said monastery enclosure, since the common condition and custom among the principal groups requires such seclusion for women and girls.

Continuing his letter to Juan de Samano, the emperor's secretary, the bishop defends these enclosures or casas encerradas for the reason that he desires the teachings of the professed nuns and the devout native women to be "enduring and permanent." He described these monasteries as autonomous institutions on the cathedral estates with high but beautiful enclosures, so guarded that no Spaniard could enter. Here the girls would stay until they were ready for marriage, or, at least, until they were twelve years of age. As an illustration of the arrangement of this dual educational endeavor, the bishop refers to the pueblo of Ocuytuco where some 300 students attended the boys' school (called colegio or ximultepeque), and some 1,600 girls resided in the convent school (called monasterio or tetela). The large hacienda, on which both schools and probably also the cathedral were located, was divided in three areas: the first was in charge of the bishop himself as encomendado, the second, was in charge of a widow by the name of Maria d'Estrada, while the third was cared for by Alonso d'Escobar.

Like other Zumárraga correspondence on educational ventures, this letter contains a strong request for financial assistance. Partial support of these schools should come from the tithes, while a self-help program of co-operative or distributive education through the sale of such produce as chestnuts, pears, apples, plums, and so on, to Castile, might be envisioned for providing the remaining revenues.

Not content with the establishment of a Franciscan college for the native sons of his diocese, the energetic bishop began the movement which in 1553 culminated in the establishment of the University of Mexico. Already in 1536, through his agents at the court of Spain and the council of Mantua, he presented to the

¹By 1537 a number of new dioceses had been established in Mexico.

emperor a well-reasoned petition that a university be established mainly for the newly converted, so that an educated Christian leadership might abound.¹ The following is a free translation of the document.

It is my opinion that no groups of Christians exist where there is greater need for a university with all the faculties and sciences and sacred theology; hence, if in Spain Your Majesty has such great universities and facilities for learning and if you have provided a university in Granada for the newly converted Moors, how much more ought you provide similar facilities in this land where there are so many newly converted pagans, in comparison with whom the kingdom of Granada is as an embryo, and yet they do not have a university of studies.

For such weighty reasons the bishop petitions Your Majesty to command that, because of these circumstances, there be established and founded in this large city of Mexico a university in which there will be taught all those branches of knowledge which are usually taught in the other universities, and that instruction be given especially in the arts and in theology since there is special need for these. To realize this objective Your Majesty is asked to provide the alms and bear the burden until this great country can do so, by designating that the revenues of one or more towns be applied toward defraying the salaries of the professors and the building of the schools. It is also considered highly imperative that a communication be sent to His Holiness requesting that some indulgences be granted to all those persons who aid this holy work, since if hospitals where the bodies are cured are usually thus favored, with what greater reason ought not this institution to be favored where the human spirit will be refreshed and nourished. These indulgences ought to be on a par with those which can be gained in the hospital of Conception of this city for visits and alms and other works, and they ought to be able to be gained (toties quoties) as often as any person grants some alms to this university.

Zumárraga has also been credited with inaugurating the movement which led to the founding of St. Mary of All Saints College on August 15, 1573 by Bishop Francisco Rodríguez Santis of Guadalajara in Nueva Galicia.²

The times in which Zumárraga lived were revolutionary in more than one sphere of human endeavor. Gutenberg's printing press had greatly accelerated the rate of educational growth among

¹Documentos inéditos del siglo xvi para la historia de Mexico, p. 66. Edited by Mariano Cuevas, S.J. Mexico: Talleres de Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología, 1914.

²Catalogo de los colegiales del insigne viejo y mayor de Santa María de Todos Santos, pp. 4-5. Mexico, 1796. New York Public Library Reserve Collection.

the peoples of Europe, while schoolbooks began to revolutionize standard educational techniques. With vision and alertness the bishop perceived that the printing of textbooks and other useful works must be introduced into his Mexican diocese if its social order would advance with that of Europe. Medina, an acknowledged authority on early Mexican imprints, quotes a memorial which Zumárraga presented to the council of the Indies toward the end of 1533 to the effect that

. . . . it would be very useful and convenient to have a printing press and a paper mill here in New Spain and since there are individuals who intend to come here with whom His Majesty could send some money for the promotion and support of this art, your council ought to command that such facilities be provided.¹

The evidence would seem therefore, to justify this conclusion at least, that Mexico's first bishop, six years before the printing of the first book in Mexico (1539), was negotiating for a printing press and a paper mill in New Spain. The first book of which we have certified evidence was a brief bi-lingual catechism Breve y mas compendiosa doctrina Cristiana in Spanish and Mexican printed by Juan Pablos in 1539 on a press owned by the house of Gronberger in Seville, but brought to this continent perhaps some months earlier.² The bishop, who paid for most of the early imprints, was also instrumental in having an adult doctrinal manual published in 1540 which was authorized by all three bishops of New Spain.

The Huntington Library of San Marino, California, contains an original copy of the first important sizable volume printed by Pablos in Mexico; it was compiled by Bishop Zumárraga himself and was printed by his order of 1543.³ It is a religious and psychological work intended for the ordinary mind and was probably used as a text by the clergy in explaining to catechists

¹Don José Toribio Medina, La imprenta en Mexico, I, xxxiii-xxxiv. Santiago de Chile, 1909.

²Henry R. Wagner, Mexican Imprints (1544-1600) in the Huntington Library, pp. 3-6. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1939.

³Juan de Zumárraga, Doctrina breve muy provechosa delas cosas que pertenecen ala fe catholica ... en estilo llano para comun inteligencia Impresa en la ... ciudad de Mexico ... Año de M.dxliii (1543).

and converts alike the articles of faith, the sacraments of Christ, commandments of God and the Church, the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, the cardinal and moral virtues. A feature of this Doctrina is the clear explanation of sense psychology and the relation of the five corporal senses to the three powers of the soul.

Other works authored by Zumárraga with certainty include his 1546 Doctrina, previously mentioned relative to the bishop's ideas on teaching contained in that book's prologue to the reader. But, a search through the standard works¹ on Mexican imprints before 1600 show that other works often ascribed to his authorship were rather his compilations or were jointly authored and sponsored by him. Such were the Manual de adultos (1540), Tratado sacerdotal (1540), Doctrina cristiana breve para enseñanze de los niños (1543).

¹Roman Zulaica Garate, Los franciscanos y la imprenta en Mexico en el siglo XVI, pp. 15-39. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939.

CHAPTER VII

ST. JOHN LATERAN SCHOOL

In the official records of the governing body of Mexico City under the date of Tuesday, the twelfth of July, 1529, the following minutes appear:¹

On this day the undersigned men acquiesced to the petition and supplication of the guardian of the convent and monastery of St. Francis of this city that he be given the revenue of a desired site near the said house of St. Francis, on the other side of the water where there is a "teanquez" for housing and nursing back to health many young native boys of this country, who seek to come to the said monastery to be instructed and taught the doctrines of our holy Catholic faith. On the said site it is fitting that there be some building where the said infirm young men might be received; hence, it should be resolved that the said house be secured from those who hold it, and it is proper for us to command that the title of this infirmery be transferred in due form to the said monastery.

Thereupon follows the authoritative deed of transfer:

The undersigned men acceding to the petition and supplication of Andrés de Barrios, mayor, agree to appropriate the money for one ground-plot with house adjacent to the places which have been held by the monastery of St. Francis, . . . on one side limited by the house and lot of the lawyer Delgadillo, and on the other side, limited by the house and lot of Diego de Sosia, and we command title to the same be given, according to form.

(Signatories)--Nuño de Guzman, Andres Barrios, Francisco Bierdugo, Antonio Serrano de Cardona, Bernardino Bazquez de Tapia, Lope de Samaniego, Pedro de Samano.

In the above minutes no mention is made concerning the name of the new Franciscan establishment but the historian Icazbalceta states that it was called St. John Lateran (San Juan de Letran), according to a volume of Audiencia deliberations which was at his time in the General Archives.² At present, however, the officials

¹Segundo libro de actas de cabildo de la ciudad de Mexico, pp. 5-6. Ignacio Bejarano, editor. Mexico: Edition of 1889, Archivo Municipal de la Ciudad de Mexico.

²Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Obras, II, 421. Mexico, 1896.

of the General Archives know nothing concerning the whereabouts of this book of deliberations called libro de acuerdos de la Audiencia.¹

Primary data relating to the first several decades of the school's existence seem to be very scarce. It probably began its existence as an infirmary, where instruction of the sick native boys was undertaken by the friars. This was no uncommon practice in New Spain, since many of the hospitals were likewise centers of learning where the two spiritual works of mercy, visiting the sick and instructing the ignorant, were frequently combined.

Some fifteen years after the Cortesian conquest, the number of mestizos and mestizas had increased so greatly through the intermarriage of Spanish soldiers and Indian women, that a social problem developed. The friars, therefore, admitted these half-breeds to St. John Lateran School, even though this practice seems to have run counter to the Franciscan general policy of educating the Indian youth exclusively. It illustrates the writer's hypothesis that the educational policy of the Franciscans was rather opportunistic and easily adjusted itself to changing conditions, especially where the downtrodden of any race or region were concerned. It seems very probable that some full-blooded Indians were also in attendance at Letran. Fuenleal, president of the Audiencia arranged with the Franciscans in 1533 to teach Spanish grammar along with the Mexican language to some fifty Indian boys.² Because most of them were poor he sent 2,000 bushels of corn for the students and 200 pesos de minas for the teachers. This may have laid the foundation of a separate school of advanced Indian education--Holy Cross College at Tlatelolco. On the other hand, this arrangement may have been made with the Indian school of San José, although it seems the document would have in that case mentioned Peter of Ghent.

We learn more about this colegio de niños from two documents written in the year 1552. The friars apparently had gotten the Council of the Indies to do some begging for them.³ The

¹Interview with Señora Osorio of the Archivo General de la Nacion on October 16, 1944.

²"Fuenleal to the King, August 8, 1533," Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Mexican MSS 68. France V. Scholes transcript, Carnegie Institute of Washington.

³"Carta del consejo de las Indias a su majestad, Madrid,

letter of the Council, after referring to some changes in bishoprics and the need for additional friars to teach the Indians, relates to the king that, according to a report which they had secured, it was the opinion of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza as well as the religious and other persons, that the school for boys in Mexico City, where instruction was given in Christian doctrine and polite customs, was performing a useful and necessary task for the republic. Many mestizos and other young men who had become delinquent were kept there and instructed, so that, when they left the school, some had been trained to perform official duties, others, to become religious, and others for various duties whereby they served our Lord and changed their many vices into virtues. Now, according to the exposition of conditions made to the Council, the officials of the college had to make very great expenditures for the physical plant and the support of the boys who were quite numerous, as also for some priests who taught them Christian doctrine, good customs, and reading. Though the friars contributed their services and asked, according to their rule of life, for living expenses only, there apparently were secular laymen who assisted in governing the students and in administrative affairs, and as preceptors who taught grammar; these had to be paid in coin of the realm, as also the attending physicians and those who bought necessary supplies. For all this, the annual expenditure amounted to about five thousand pesos, as his majesty was able to infer from the memorial concerning the organization and finances of the college as presented to the Council of the Indies.

The underlying psychology of letters which seek funds must be kept in mind concerning the Council's threat, that, unless immediate pecuniary help is forthcoming for a new building (the present structure is called "old and poorly built"), and for the proper support of the pupils and teachers, the work of education might have to be abandoned.¹ This, of course, the king would never allow to occur since the project is described "as very holy

23 de octubre de 1552," Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Indiferente General, legajo 737. Photograph by France V. Scholes, Carnegie Institute of Washington.

Note: A legajo is a bundle of papers containing some 2,000 manuscript pages; such is especially the case with those of Simancas and Seville.

¹Ibid.

and good, since our Lord is well served thereby, and since the country will receive great benefit because the natives will learn our language as well as Christian doctrine and since these same children, once instructed in our language and the Christian faith will communicate the same to other natives," and, in this way

. . . . his majesty will have played a great part through fulfilling the obligation of sending ministers to this country for its conversion, and becoming the patron of this college by sending annually for this good work of the school two thousand ducats: half of the court fines of New Spain and the other half from his majesty's royal hacienda according to dividends received or a certain portion of the rent which might be designated for instruction in the said college.¹

The report to which the letter of the Council of the Indies refers was probably written before 1552 and brought to Spain by Gregorio de Pesquera, who was then in Europe seeking help for the college.² This account which throws considerable light on the school's organization, daily routine, curriculum, and the paternalistic care of the friars for their charges must have made an impression on the king, since not long after, a royal decree was issued granting aid to the school of St. John Lateran.³

This early Mexican colegio de niños housed some two hundred boys.⁴ There seems to have been but one building, which was rented for three years, at the time of the report, and annually, together with the patios and the courtyards where the boys walked and took their recreation, cost one hundred pesos de minas in rentals.⁵

¹Ibid.

²"La orden que se tiene en el colegio de los niños de Mexico. Sin fecha." Archivo General de Indias. Sevilla, Indiferente General, legajo 737. Photograph by France V. Scholes, Carnegie Institute of Washington.

³Vasco de Puga, Cedulario ... Nueva España, 1525-1563, foja 186 or p. 226. Mexico: En casa de Pedro Ocharte, 1563. Edición de "El Sistema Postal." Mexico: José Marie Sandaval, Impresor, 1879; Colección de documentos inéditos, ... de las posesiones españolas de ultramar, XXI (II Gobe), 2^{da} serie, 164.

⁴The term colegio is best translated by the English word school; it is best interpreted as a collection of pupils, since the curriculum might be primary in one colegio, advanced, in another, preparatory in some, and terminal in others.

⁵It is misleading to give a dollar for dollar evaluation

There was a large dormitory in a separate part of this structure where individual beds, tables, and similar furniture, were arranged in alcoves separated by wooden partitions some six feet distant. A central corridor or aisle divided the long rows; there were four lamps along this corridor, which were constantly kept burning during the night and early morning, while two other lights were kept lit in the infirmary and the adjacent latrine.

Both teachers and pupils slept in this dormitory which was always under the wakeful eyes of several watchers; there were thirty-six watchers each night, from half-past eight until the rising bell sounded. Six students watched during each period; this was one-and-one-half hours in length as measured by the hour-glass. Hence, including the watchers, who retired an hour and a half earlier, the students received nine hours of sleep each night. During each watch, three of the boys were to supervise one side of the corridor and three, the other side, reciting the rosary, after one of them had passed through the dormitory with the hyssop, sprinkling holy water as he went. The watchers were also required to keep the boys covered during the cool nights and to see that no harm befell them. One of those designated to keep the final watch rang the bell at rising time in such fashion that it could be heard by all, since no one was permitted to sleep longer.

While rising and dressing themselves the boys were required to make the sign of the cross and recite in Spanish such prayers as the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Apostle's Creed, and the Hail, Holy Queen. Their toilet completed, they knelt down facing the little shrine kept in the dormitory and recited the Confiteor and the hymn of the three young men (the Benedicite), blessing all the works of the Lord; this was followed by the official prayers of prime and the customary orations for the living and the dead, the good and the wicked.

of early Spanish or Mexican money. If we base it on the maravedi, the smallest Spanish coin, twelve of which amounted to less than five centavos of the 1904 or present Mexican scale, we secure the following evaluation:

1. A peso de oro de minas is equivalent to 450 maravedis.
2. A peso de oro comun is equivalent to 272 maravedis.
3. A ducado is equivalent to 375 maravedis.

In addition, revenues were collected and expended in terms of ganado mostrenco (unclaimed cattle) and reales (pieces or bits), ten of which usually made up the dollar.

The pupils thereupon rose to their feet for roll-call, and after washing themselves, repaired to the chapel to hear mass and recite five decades of the rosary, and the remaining little hours of the divine office. Before breakfast they were sent to the study-rooms for practice exercises in reading, writing, and chanting, and for a period of silent study which lasted until nine o'clock, when some of the teachers conducted classes, corrected exercises, taught instrumental music, and directed plain chant.¹

The tables having been set for breakfast in a large refectory which was located beneath the dormitory, the boys, after the blessing had been said, sat down for the first of their two daily meals, which usually consisted of some broth, wheat in some form, corn-bread, and mutton which was always kept hot, "so that the pupils do not become ill."² They were apparently given as much as they desired, although to insure proper distribution one of the preceptors accompanied the waiters about the dining-room as they dispensed the rations. The broth was kept in a special container with a faucet, so that each pupil could help himself, and the wheat was kept in an open sack next to the box of eating utensils; thus none left the refectory hungry. At this meal, which usually lasted until ten-thirty, there was no conversation; instead, one of the students mounted the lectern and read from Sacred Scripture and books on Christian doctrine.

After reciting some prayers in the chapel, the boys went to the dormitory to take a little rest, "cleanse their sleeping quarters from fleas" (which, incidentally, are still very common in certain parts of Mexico), and tidy up their persons, always observing strict silence.³ From approximately twelve o'clock until three in the afternoon, they again pursued their studies. A brief quotation from the report to the king will specify the extent of the curriculum, which marked the institution very definitely as an elementary school, and will illustrate some of the instructional methods which have a definite affinity to those found in New England a century later.

Presently they read, write, do arithmetic, and study from twelve o'clock until three, and correct exercises and are given lessons in reading and chant. There is a table in the

¹"La orden," loc. cit.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

classroom to which they are called to correct their errors and at which the lesson is given, and where they compute so that they do not miss their calculations and letters, and where one who has completed his work may help correct the work of another.¹

St. John Lateran School had a very definite religious emphasis, which together with its strict daily discipline sought to make an impression on the native mestizos and Indian boys, who, coming from an environment with different core values, were indoctrinated and exercised in those of Christian Spain, so that having become skillful in reading, writing, singing, and computing, they were able to communicate their newly acquired culture to their kin and acquaintances, when they returned to them as graduates. These alumni of Letran may be regarded as boy-teachers or boy-civilizers of their own race and nation.

They were proud of their schools; in the outdoor processions which honored their patron saint, the students carried his statue around the town. Six boys wearing special insignia formed the guard of honor while the others sang hymns as they marched along. From the account of life at San Juan de Letran as thus far given, one would be inclined to infer that the strictness of life would have embittered the students. But, the daily discipline had its moments of relaxation, especially after the evening meal. Their flavor has nonchalantly come down to us through several lines of the report, which are herewith given in free translation:

Leaving the table the pupils go to the large and spacious patio where, in the presence of their teachers, they recreate themselves in wholesome sports and amusement with the dogs or in fighting the bull. They also play a game of ball which they serve to one another, but they have not taken thereto very strongly; however, they amuse themselves sufficiently in other ways.²

The pupils, most of whom, as previously mentioned, were half-breeds were assigned various domestic duties about the school. This in-service training was mutually advantageous and facilitated initiation into the social milieu as it developed in New Spain. These services consisted mainly in caring for various rooms, sweeping and scrubbing the dormitory, washing clothes, dusting the furniture, preparing and lighting the lamps, preparing and serving

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

food, nursing the sick, caring for the refectory, answering the door, and so on. To preclude interference with the program of studies, these duties were divided and rotated among the student-body, thus also enabling most of the boys to become acquainted with several occupations.¹

Three interesting dialogues about life in Mexico City, written by Francisco Cervantes Salazar in 1554, throw further light upon the early days of the Lateran school.² Two fictitious characters, Alfarus and Zuazus, went sight-seeing in the capital, and having arrived at the Franciscan establishments paused to comment on their immense size and purposes. Alfarus asks about the buildings, extensive gardens, and especially about the activities taking place behind the long high walls. Zuazus explains that there are two educational institutions there, one for girls (which we shall discuss in the following chapter), and the other for abandoned boys born of Spanish men and Indian women. These pupils, he informs his guest, read, write, and become well acquainted with those things which pertain to the service of God, and when they become adolescent, are given instruction in the liberal arts if they have the ability, but, otherwise, are trained in mechanical and servile occupations, so that, growing in virtue as well as in age, and having become men, they can be drawn into evil ways only against their better knowledge and judgment. Alfarus praises this project highly as being most beneficial to the interests of the state.³

The pupils at St. John Lateran School seem to have been graded into two divisions, the primary and the secondary, the latter being reserved for those of greater aptitude. Those following the primary course remained about three years while those in the secondary curriculum remained seven years, since their studies included the liberal arts.⁴ This double-track plan was

¹Ibid.

²Francisco Cervantes Salazar, Tres dialogos latinos de Mexico en 1554. Three parts, written and printed in Mexico that same year. Edited with notes by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1875. (Library of Congress.)

³Ibid., second part, pp, 132-136.

⁴Vicente Riva Palacio, op. cit., II, 520; see also P. Lino Gomez Canedo, "El colegio de San Juan de Letran (Mexico)

at least in force after 1552 when three secular priests were made chief administrators of the colegio. It is not certain whether the same classification prevailed earlier when Quesada was in charge and the Franciscans seem to have played a greater role in the conduct of the school.¹ The advanced students aided the friars in teaching Christian doctrine in the pueblos, and had the opportunity of studying Latin grammar as well as the native idioms.²

Conduct rules to be observed by the students were posted on a chart so that no one could plead ignorance; under pain of corporal punishment to be administered according to the gravity of the delinquency, the pupils were forbidden to swear, lie, or do other evil things. They were strictly obliged to wear distinctive uniforms. The rule of enclosure was strictly enforced so that no more than four pupils, selected from the more trustworthy, could be sent together outside the premises on various errands, that nothing dishonorable might occur; these boys were obliged to give an account of all that took place while they were out, especially, if anything happened that had the appearance of evil.

Each evening before the time of retirement a sort of chapter meeting was held during which the more flagrant faults of the day were pointed out and corrected by various preceptors who, in their conferences, encouraged the pupils in the observance of the daily routine and the practice of virtue. At stated intervals supervisors made a visitation of the entire building, observing whether the preceptors and the students were faithful in the discharge of their duties, even spying through little apertures in the doors and walls to detect possible culprits.³

About seven o'clock each evening, after the recreation period, all assembled in the chapel for the recitation of the following day's matins and a period of meditation and prayer.

haeia mediados del siglo XVI" (Archivo de Indias 140-7-31), Archivo-Ibero-Americana 37.2, 481-492. Madrid: Costa, 1934.

¹Salazar, op. cit., "Dialogo segundo," pp. 132 et seq.; Fr. Juan de Torquemada, O.F.M., Monarchia Indiana, Lib. III, cap. xxvi (First edited at Seville, 1615). Madrid, 1723.

²Vicente Riva Palacio, op. cit., II, 520.

³"La orden," op. cit.

They then retired for the night; those, however, who were deputed to watch during the night were sent to bed an hour and a half earlier, so that they would not be deprived of sufficient sleep.

Since religious practices were much encouraged, frequent opportunities were given the boys for the reception of the sacraments, although confession was insisted upon but once each month for the advanced students, and only every three months, mainly on feast days, for the younger boys.

Strict accounts and inventories were kept so that the patrons of the colegio might be well informed on the finances and equipment of the institution. These patrons, upon whom the school depended for continued assistance, organized themselves into a confraternity, and constructed a set of statutes to be observed by the members. They were given a special room for their deliberations, where they could quietly and prudently advance the interests of the institution. Those selected for membership in the organization were nominated by Doctor Quesada in the name of the Audiencia, under the leadership of the viceroy, representing the king; this clearly indicates that the school was largely under the control of the government. The officials of the society were changed each year, eight days before or within the octave of the feast of St. John, in such manner, however, that only two officers were elected annually, so that those who were held over could instruct those newly chosen. The author of the report favored this biennial election since, as he put it, if good officials are chosen it is much better to engage them for two years than to have an annual turnover.¹ These officers in their weekly meetings took inventory at the college, went over the accounts, and collected bequests and donations in the amounts necessary to meet the expenses; it seems that this same group had the responsibility of hiring and retiring the secular teachers, paying their salaries, and in other ways promoting the school's welfare. Most likely the Franciscans, because of their rule forbidding them to handle either coins or money, had practically nothing to do with the financial administration of the Lateran School, even before the secularization went into effect in 1552. Alms and other monies destined for the project were kept in a treasury box, which had three distinct sections, all carefully locked and guarded by three

¹Ibid.

officials, all of whom had to be present when any section was opened; the richest and most prominent of these officers usually presided at such affairs, though at times, the presence of Quesada, judge and patron of the school, was requested. These officers are praised highly by the report for taking excellent care of the revenues "out of love for God and with Christian zeal without personal interest."¹

Don Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy of Mexico, deserves a great deal of credit for the promotion of education in New Spain. He was a great friend of the friars and helped promote their projects even through his private philanthropies. He helped endow Santa Cruz College, which will be treated in the chapter on patterns of advanced Franciscan education, and gave two hundred pesos annually to liquidate debts on St. John Lateran School. In addition he donated each year eight precious stones or vessels from his home; these were worth about six hundred pesos.

The annual expenditures for the boys amounted to about 5,000 pesos for maintenance and clothes, for teachers, physicians, and medicines, for hired help and building repairs. There were additional instructional salaries to be paid: four hundred pesos de minas were given to two visiting teachers, while one hundred were paid annually to an Indian preceptor of grammar, who was very probably a graduate of the Franciscan College at Tlatelolco, the only institution of its kind in contemporary Mexico. According to the financial accounting given in the report, three hundred pesos were annually expended for the maintenance of a medical office or dispensary.²

His majesty had given the officials of the colegio the sum of 4,000 pesos de minas which were meant to function as endowment; these were placed in a bank and annually yielded more than six hundred pesos de minas, an exorbitant rate of interest, which must have greatly embarrassed the friars, who both in Europe and New Spain were preaching against usury, and had founded the montes pietatis for the protection of the poor.

The donations from the king and the viceroy together with the incidental alms were, according to the report, ample to provide for the current necessities of the institution, but, the reporter wants the king to consider placing the school on a

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

sounder and more permanent financial basis, so that, at the expiration of the next triennium he need not again fear financial collapse. Therefore, he requested that St. John Lateran School be placed directly under the patronage of the crown, and that, annually, it be inspected by a judge of the Audiencia, and by a prelate residing in Mexico, jointly with the provincial and guardian of the religious; this visitation, he contended, would place the institution under the ablest persons to be found, so that everything which affected the college would be amply administered and this work of God would prosper. The term "guardian"--a distinctly Franciscan term for superior of a duly formed friary--is never employed by any other religious order or rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but, it is used in this document. Hence, even at the time of this report, which was probably written between 1550 and 1560, the Friars Minor must have still been as closely associated with the undertaking as Judge Quesada himself, though, for some unknown reason, the names of individual Franciscans are totally absent from the report.¹

But, let us return to the more fascinating portions of the record which give us further intimate pictures of student life in the sixteenth century. It seems that the truant officer or constable usually had a busy day, since many of the mestizos in attendance were delinquent; in many ways, the institution had the characteristics of a reform school as the following quotation would indicate.

The children who are in this college and room and board here are poor and learn doctrine, and to read and write, chant and study. There are high walls surrounding the building so that the pupils cannot go out but are enclosed. The school should have a constable or watcher who would be ordered to enforce the rules and search for pupils who leave, and to gather from the roads others who are called delinquent and are vagabonds, and bring them to the aforementioned school; for this reason he ought to be a person of much determination, charity, and diligence. . . . This constable should be given a salary because he must in many ways search for the pupils in neighboring towns and villages where they are often hidden or taken for protection; in this way he attempts to save the delinquents.²

The relationship which at least in its foundation existed between St. John Lateran School and Gante's San José Belén de los

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

naturales is based on the existence of an infirmary at the convento grande de San Francisco. Don Antonio de Mendoza had for many years paid the salary of three hundred pesos for the maintenance of a physician and a dispensary, because the lake, which was close to the city and seems to have been in a stagnant condition, produced a very foul stench, which in the opinion of the reporter, engendered pestilence. This was an intestinal illness which afflicted the inhabitants of the city for some six years, and, in two years, occasioned the illness of more than one hundred and seventy pupils at the school. From the description given in the report, it appears that the major symptom of the illness was dysentery; there were as many as eighty students ill at one time, and, as some recovered, others would fall victims to the disease. The sick were given purges and physics of various kinds, and some were subjected to blood-letting as a remedy for their affliction. Many people in the vicinity of the school died, while in the colegio only five boys and two Spanish preceptors, who used to assist the writer of the document in caring for the sick, succumbed to the malady. At the time of the report only about twenty pupils were on the sick list. Because of these continual infirmities the report emphasized the necessity of having a well-equipped infirmary, separated from the dormitory, where those who were well slept, especially since the disease was communicable, and those afflicted were greatly disturbed by the noise and hilarity of the healthy students during their periods of recreation.¹

A majority of the boys were very docile and inclined to the study of letters, since they eventually intended to become ecclesiastics and religious. Many, when they left the school, were very able to elevate the cultural level of the natives since they knew their languages. In fact, more than one in ten were full-blooded natives themselves who understood the strengths and weaknesses of their race and tribesmen whom they tried to teach, convert, and establish in doctrine and Christian living, thus relieving the shortage of priests and missionaries in their home territory, which, as natives, they were proud and anxious to serve. They knew well how to approach the Indians and supply their wants, meanwhile tolerating many of their foibles because they understood native behavior and sympathized with its weaknesses.²

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

The anonymous reporter gives us some figures on post-graduate students. Of every hundred who finished the course of study as high as ninety returned for some more advanced work. He laments the absence of a university in conjunction with the school --one set up in such manner that all the native languages would be taught so that preachers could be trained therein and go forth to teach in the languages of the many tribes inhabiting the neighboring provinces.¹

That the school was effective in influencing the social order is shown by the fact that a significant number of the boys became friars not only in the Order of St. Francis, but in other religious communities as well. Others became officials, teachers, and inspectors in the new order of things, and directed others, especially the mestizos, in the rational control of themselves, in the proper regimen of their lives, in securing things necessary for their bodily sustenance and that of their families so that they no longer, in the language of the report, "became delinquents and vagabonds as before."² In this way, through the efforts of the friars and those who assisted them, social conditions were greatly ameliorated and some of the greater evils which existed among the natives, such as robberies, murders, the forceful abduction of women and girls, and other serious forms of social disorganization were greatly lessened.³ By their exemplary life and Christian knowledge they were able to instruct the ignorant in Christian teachings and practices, and rebuke those who cursed, blasphemed, and stole, and refute their defenses of evil-doing.

The report itself indicates the changes which were occurring: being separated from their old idolatrous, aboriginal, or semi-civilized environment, they observed the routine order which existed at the college, and having benefited by the force of good example and doctrine, they avoided the occasions which had previously brought them into evil ways; hence, "from ministers of evil they become dispensers of good doctrine and Christianity, being provided with the necessities of life."⁴

¹The University of Mexico was established in 1553, but was designed mainly for Spaniards. The college for advanced Indian education began operation in 1536, but, perhaps, the curriculum did not sufficiently emphasize the native idioms.

²"La orden," op. cit.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

The paucity of documents defy and render quite impossible the historical reconstruction of the colegio de San Juan de Letran. Among the decrees issued the following have special significance for the college of St. John Lateran. On August 23, 1538, the Emperor Charles V wrote to Mendoza, the viceroy, concerning the college of boys, sons of the natives of the country. He writes that he has learned with great satisfaction that in this school the pupils learn the Christian idiom and doctrine and that the institution is well administered with great ingenuity and capability by the religious of the Order of St. Francis and other persons and that it is his wish that this grand work continue and be helped along as much as possible. During the same year the queen, writing from the palace in Spain, issued an order to the viceroy to do something about the complaint she received from the archbishop of Mexico, Zumárraga, that the parents (especially the leaders and caciques) were keeping their children away from the monastery schools for boys and the schools conducted by pious women for girls,¹ and that some were hiding their children afraid of the influence of education and thus were depriving God of many spiritual children.²

During the same year a statement issued in Valladolid includes the favorable reaction of the viceroy toward the Lateran school,³ while another document informs us that the provincial of the Franciscans has aided the school for poor boys in Mexico which is called after St. John Lateran.⁴ It appears, also, that the college took on some of the features of a normal school around 1545 when it was declared to be under the royal patronage.⁵ In

¹ Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mexico 1088, Libro C 3, fol. 165. El Rey a Mendoza de colegio de los niños hijos de los naturales desa tierra, Valladolid, August 23, 1538. Photograph by France V. Scholes of the Carnegie Institute of Washington.

² Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mexico 1088, Libro C 3, fols. 1-2. La Reyna a Virrey, 1538. Photograph by Scholes.

³ Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mexico 1088, Libro C 3, fol. 164 v. Valladolid, photograph by Scholes; Documentos inéditos ultramarinos 21: 162, No. 179.

⁴ Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mexico 1088, Libro C 3 ff., fols. 104 v. -105, August 23, 1538. Photograph by Scholes; Documentos inéditos ultramarinos 21: 163, No. 183.

⁵ "Valladolid el 26 de noviembre de 1545," ibid.

1548 the college was given the returns on half the unclaimed cattle for a period of ten years¹ and received a royal donation of three hundred ducats from the king's hacienda.² This was followed in 1549 by a royal order to the Treasury requiring it to pay to the college for boys at Letran, six hundred ducats from the funds of intestate deceased,³ and in 1552 the donation of the king was increased to 2,000 ducats.⁴ That same year a royal decree granted half of the unclaimed cattle to San Juan de Letran;⁵ this was followed by three cédulas on September 8, 12, 21, 1557, increasing the amount of financial assistance to the school.⁶

Many decrees and royal orders were issued concerning several of the Franciscan institutions and, probably, were uniformly applicable to all, while only a few have specific reference to Letran, and most of these are dated after 1557 when new constitutions were given the school.⁷ These provided for changing the nature of the institution into a training center and model school for all the provinces, where Christian doctrine, good manners, and the Indian languages were to constitute the curriculum. The administration was assigned to three secular priests (tres clérigos), Bachiller Juan Perez de Varandalla Navarro, Bachiller Miguel de Guía, and Bachiller Francisco del Río. One of these was to be chosen rector each year, and, together with Gregorio de Pesquera, who very likely had been influential in drafting or

¹"Cedula del 1.º de octubre de 1548," ibid.

²"Cedula del mes de noviembre de 1548," ibid.

³Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mexico 1089, Libro C 4, fols. 119-120, November 9, 1549. Photograph by Scholes.

⁴"Cedula del 4 de diciembre de 1552," ibid.

⁵"Cedula por la cual se hizo--merced de dar la mitad de los ganados mostrencos al colegio de S. Juan de Letran, de acuerdo con la petición que hizo la diputación del citado establecimiento," Reales Cédulas, Vol. I, Exp. 61, p. 69. December 4, 1552, Archivo de la Nación, Mexico.

⁶Ibid., Vol. I, Exp. 130, 136, 139, fols. 130(v), 132(v.), 134(v.).

⁷"Constituciones para los niños pobres de la casa que se mando fundar para ellos en la ciudad de Mexico de nueva España"--La Princesa ... Valladolid, 8 de sept., 1557. Provisiones, cédulas, capítulos de ordenanças, instrucciones, y cartas ... sacadas y recogidas por Diego de Encinas, Libro primero, fols. 209-211. Madrid, 1596.

delivering the earlier report to the king directed the destinies of the institution. According to these constitutions a special preceptor was appointed to teach doctrine, reading, and writing, and to see that the proper order of the day and the discipline of the house was observed, while a third staff member was detailed to serve as co-ordinator between the college and the University of Mexico where some of the more able students went for their courses in grammar, Latin, and liberal arts.¹ A new open-door policy was inaugurated; consequently, the school was no longer intended to serve the submerged groups of mestizos, castaways, and poor orphans, but was also open to Spaniards, who, judging from the insistence placed upon the teaching of Spanish, very shortly assumed control.²

It seems quite evident that the Franciscans were no longer connected with the institution after the royal constitutions of 1557 were promulgated. This may have come about through the process of secularization already at work in Mexico, or through voluntary withdrawal by the friars from a project which no longer concerned itself with changing the social order among submerged peoples. Perhaps both factors were operative in the retirement of the friars from the project.

Philip II indirectly recognized the worth of the institution by demanding that it be made permanent, granting liberal financial assistance for the advancement of poor students in doctrine and good manners, that, taken out of their old environment and protected within the institution they would become useful to the state instead of vagabonds and delinquents.³ In 1562, and again in 1566, he nominated special visitors to examine the institution.⁴

Around 1569, according to the report of the visitor to

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.; Reales Cédulas, Vol. I, Exp. 133, 134, fols. 129(v.), 130. Archivo General de la Nación, México.

³"Que se guarden las ordenanzas del colegio de los niños pobres de Mexico, y sea bien administrando"--D. Felipe segundo y la Princesa G. en Valladolid a 8 de setiembre de 1557. Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de Nueva España, Tomo I, Lib. I, Tit. XXIII, Ley XIV, fols. 122-123.

⁴Reales Cédulas, Vol. I, Exp. 197, p. 172. Archivo de la Nación, México.

the Holy Gospel Franciscan province, the college was granted a thousand bushels of corn annually as tribute from neighboring towns; if the corn crop failed in any year, five hundred pesos were supplied from the royal treasury to insure at least minimum support.¹

The evidence shows that, despite the more consistent policy of royal support granted the institution after the secularization, the fruits of the institution became very meagre, so that the Jesuits who entered Mexico in 1572, were asked to assume the administration of the school in 1578.² At that time they already had four flourishing colleges for Spaniards, while Letran had but seventy-eight students who were being taught the elementary branches by a cleric and a layman.³ Though, according to Cuevas, the Jesuits refused the offer to enlarge the scope of St. John Lateran School, the institution continued to serve a mixed clientele in several educational capacities for several hundred years.⁴

¹Codice Franciscano, Nueva colección de documentos, II, 73.

²"Carta al rey del arzobispo de Mexico ... de la enseñanza de la Compania de Jesús--Mexico, 30 de marzo de 1578." Archivo General de Indias, "Papeles de Simancas," Est. 60, caj. 4, legajo 1. Epistolario de Nueva España, 1505-1818, recopilado por Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Tomo XII, pp. 50-51; in Biblioteca historia Mexicana de obras inéditas. Mexico, 1940.

³Ibid.

⁴Mariano Cuevas, S.J., Historia de la Iglesia en Mexico, I, 382. El Paso, Texas, 1928; Palacio, op. cit., pp. 519-520.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

The attitude of Franciscan leaders toward the formal education of girls in schools was favorable from the very start because it was based on rational conviction. They reasoned that since God created man male and female, since Christ redeemed both men and women, and since woman is endowed with similar intellectual powers, the young of both sexes should share educational privileges. Consequently, they worked on the principle that no full and perfect acquisition of a Christian social order and civilization would be possible "if the entire attention of the ministers were centered on the instruction and teaching of men, forgetful of women."¹

Just as there was an aposenito bajo, or lower hall for boys, adjacent to each Franciscan church of the Holy Gospel province, so also "patio schools" for girls were found in numerous mission establishments. The girls would gather in the patios, arrange themselves in learning circles in front of the escuela de los niños; monitors from these boys' schools would be sent into the patios to instruct the girls, one such monitor being assigned to each circle of girls. When some of the brighter girls had attained to a desired level of proficiency in Christian doctrine--which was the main content subject--these girls took over the positions of schoolmistresses for their own sex.

The empress of Spain, Doña Isabel, having been advised by Fray Juan Zumárraga, O.F.M., the first bishop of Mexico, concerning the educational advancement of the Indian girls, saw to it that a number of interested women teachers and supervisors were sent from Castile, principally to teach the daughters of the most prominent Indians.² These women who led a sheltered life and were given to spiritual exercises were most probably recruited from among the widows who attended the maids of honor at the royal

¹Mendieta, op. cit., p. 317.

²Ibid., p. 318.

palace. This meaning is given to the word duenas by Velazquez.¹ Such instructresses established residences throughout the various provinces and took into each a number of girls, in order to teach them good manners, Christian practices, and the home economics of Spanish women; these domestic arts included sewing, needlework, embroidery, and similar pursuits.² Mendieta testifies eloquently to the efficacy of their instruction by citing the beautiful and ornamental pieces of work wrought by the Indian girls for the interior decorations of the churches; he comments especially on the making of chasubles and other vestments used at the divine services.³ Even though one is inclined to reject his statement that the Indian women graduates surpassed the women of Castile in this art and field of endeavor, one just cannot, in a fair evaluation of results, refuse recognition to the fine work accomplished at these Indian girls' schools.

From this discussion it is, therefore, apparent that the education of young Indian women in early Mexico was institutionalized in at least two distinct forms: (1) church patio schools (los patios de las iglesias), and (2) private señora schools (las casas de las señoras).

A third variant, monastery schools (Mozas criadas en los emparedamientos ó monasterios), which closely approximated the training given to girls who aspired to become nuns, was encouraged by Isabel and directed by good women who took over maternal instructional duties.⁴ While these pupils did not become nuns, but learned to live properly in the married state, they nevertheless--during the ten years they spent with the madres--learned many skills ordinarily associated with convent training, such as music, the recitation of the divine office, and domestic science. Upon graduation, the young women, by their knowledge and good example, were a powerful force in changing the mores and morals of their tribesmen.

As will be shown in the following chapter, some Franciscan elementary education in New Spain was co-educational. For the most part, however, schools for boys and girls were separate. For

¹Mariano Velazquez de la Cadena, A Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages, I, 255. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1852.

²Mendieta, op. cit., pp. 318-319.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

this reason Fray Antonio de la Cruz, O.F.M., brought a contingent of women teachers to Mexico on July 10, 1531.¹ This venture was inspired by Zumárraga, who was also instrumental in bringing another group of seven women teachers to Mexico in 1534.² Two years later he wrote to the emperor about the work of these devoted teachers in the village of Ocuytuco, which he claimed, in an over-enthusiastic moment, almost looked like another Rome with its churches and the two schools, one for boys at the monastery and the other for girls in charge of devout women, "thanks to the king for the tithes which have made all this possible."³ Indian girls, according to the letter, were taken in by their teachers at the early age of five or six; they were timid and docile.

Mendieta contends that the patio schools for girls were open not merely to the full-blooded natives of the soil but also to mestizas, negritas, and creyolas who would include all racial variants in New Spain.⁴ In this sense, at least, they were very democratic. The girls were usually arranged in groups of choirs (carillos), so that a group, having learned one phase of a subject could then teach it to the other class. Sometimes as many as three hundred girls of marriageable age would attend these beautiful grove-like patio schools from which they would be sent out into the barrios as matrons and spiritual mothers to teach in their respective districts by word and example. Such schools for girls seem to have been quite common especially in the environs of Mexico City; Mendieta vouches for their existence in Xochimilco, Tezcuco, Guatitlan, Tlalmanalco, Tlascala, Tepepulco, Cholula, Guaxocingo, Tepeaca, and Tehuacan.⁵

While there were many non-Franciscan devout women and

¹Fr. Juan de Torquemada, O.F.M., Monarquía Indiana, Lib. III, cap. xxvi.

²"A Real Audiencia: que provea de pan a siete mujeres que trae el Obispo Zumárraga para instruir a las niñas indias; Toledo, 1534," Documentos inéditos ó muy raros publicados por Genaro García, XV, No. XIII, 29-30. El clero de Mexico durante la dominación española segun el archivo inédito archiepiscopal metropolitano. Mexico, 1907.

³"Carta de D. Fray Juan de Zumárraga, fecha a 25 de noviembre de 1536 al emperador ... trata de una casa de educacion para las hijas de los naturales," Boletin de la real academia de la historia, XVII, 13-17. Madrid, 1890.

⁴Mendieta, op. cit., pp. 418-421.

⁵Ibid.

professed religious engaged in educational work for girls and women, it must be remembered in this dissertation, that during the period of beginnings when the plans were laid for transplanting the social order, the personnel was entirely Franciscan or at least under Franciscan sponsorship. In this connection the second part of Bishop Fray Zumárraga's letter to the council on the education of girls is significant.¹ It was written in Mexico City, on November 24, 1537, and acknowledges the receipt of three royal orders, one of which deals with the construction of a school building near the major church of St. Francis where the daughters of the Indians were instructed. Since that location seemed inadequate to the bishop, he wanted this projected school, with its own church, to be built on a more accessible site, where the Indians could more readily participate in the work of educating and teaching their daughters.

Mexico's first bishop considered his conscience burdened by the conviction that girls' schools were necessary in every provincial capital and the principal pueblos; he considered it his responsibility to free these girls from the evil influence of the caciques, and reported that the king had acquiesced in his plan to remove these girls from their uncivilized and pagan environment at the early age of five years. Apparently, Zumárraga believed more in the influence of environment than he did in mere instruction, because he emphatically declared that in no other way can the desired social and religious change be effected; these girls, in his opinion, had to be placed very early under the constant care and supervision of nuns, or women of devout life, who would not only instruct them but guide them by good example. Otherwise, though they heard about the Gospel and the Catholic faith during the day, they would easily forget about it when they were with the caciques, and thus, probably, would be worse in private than they would have been if they never had been instructed, because of the force of bad example given them by elders whom they would readily imitate. The young Indians, he wrote, were great imitators since they were very docile to do that which they saw

¹"Carta de D. Juan de Zumárraga, O.F.M., al consejo, acusando el recibo de tres cedulas, ... y de la casa para hijas de los naturales. De Mexico: a de 24 de noviembre de 1537," Boletín de la real academia de la historia, XVII, 29-31. Madrid, 1890.

or heard, irrespective of its ethical character.¹

The Franciscan prelate has great praise for the work of the nuns and the devout women, both regular and secular, who, through "educating and guiding these girls and preserving them from the pernicious influence of their native environment have saved them from perdition and greatly participated in the fruits of conversion."²

It seems that some of the secular women teachers who had come to Mexico with their sons--from which we might conclude that many of them were probably widows--returned to Castile after spending some time in the educational and social uplift of the Indian girls.³ This lack of stability, permanence of resolution, or tenure, must have chagrined Zumárraga since he bluntly reminded the council that the professed religious had taken the vow of obedience, and, hence, could not act as independently as the others had acted. He insisted that they permanently reside inside the school, and, if they must come to the major church with the girls, substitute Indian matrons are to remain as supervisors. From the conclusion of his letter it seems that the bishop was getting rather vexed at the lethargy of the consejo on this matter of building and staffing more schools for girls, since, in effect, he tells them to confer with others about the state of affairs if they will not believe him.⁴

That Zumárraga had his share of long-standing local governmental opposition to his Indian girls' schools can be shown from directives which his friend, the queen, sent to the president and judges of the royal Audiencia and chancery in New Spain on November 27, 1532.⁵ The disputes centered on the question of allowing the women teachers to beg alms for the construction of their building, and the obligation of the royal hacienda to provide funds for a physician and druggist in the institutions under the care of these same devout women. La Reina (the queen) gave the presidente

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"A la real audiencia: que provea si conviene o no permitir que unas beatas pidan limosna para la construccion de su casa --Madrid, nov. viente y siete, 1532," No. VII, pp. 18-19; "A la real audiencia: que provea si la real hacienda debe pagar a un fisico y un boticario que cuiden de unas beatas de Mexico--Madrid, nov. viente y siete, 1532," No. VIII, pp. 19-20; Documentos inéditos o muy raros publicados por Genaro García, Tomo XV, op. cit.

y oidores (president and judges) a very clever reply, stating that she did not want these women, among whom she mentioned as a beata, one Juan Velasquez, to beg alms, since they should employ their time in instruction. They were sent over to teach girls, daughters of the caciques and principal persons of the land. They should not beg, but should rather be given alms and all necessary help by the Audiencia. Physicians should be at their disposal so that they can remain healthy for the proper fulfillment of their teaching duties; though not expressly mentioned, it is not unlikely that pupil health services were implied in this provision for physical fitness. In point of fact these same beatas turned over one of their schools as a hospital for the sick in the community during the plague of 1546.¹ Again, in 1552 through the kindness of Queen Isabella, who was a member of the third order secular of St. Francis,² a grant of half the large and small unclaimed cattle of New Spain and New Galicia was made to the schools for Spanish girls and mestizas where "virtuous women would instruct them in good manners and other necessary things"; the other half of the unclaimed cattle (la mitad de ganado mostrenco, bacuno y ovejuno) was destined for St. John Lateran School for boys.³ Many royal cédulas granting financial assistance to the school for girls were issued between 1532 and 1562.⁴

The queen, as can be seen, was a constant patron in seeing Zumárraga's plans for the instruction of women realized, and she did not hesitate to use her influence with high church authority to have such education on the same plane as that of boys. Bishop Sebastian Ramirez of Spain had many of his requests to the queen realized on this matter through Bishop Zumárraga, the Franciscan to whom he asked the queen to accredit all non-professed and non-cloistered women teachers in Mexico.⁵ Certainly the Franciscans

¹Ibid., No. L, pp. 103-104.

²The Franciscan Order is divided vertically into three groups.

³Encinas, Provisiones, cédulas ..., op. cit., año 1552, fol. 213.

⁴See chap. xiii for further financial data.

⁵"Casas de beatas, se funden," Cedulaario de Puga, año 1530, I, 172 (foya 37 v.); Encinas, Provisiones, cédulas ..., año 1530, fol. 212.

do not deserve more than a share of the credit for introducing the first six women teachers in 1530 into Santo Domingo and for the founding of the first Spanish Christian schools for Indian girls and young ladies in the homes of these beatas, whether in the West Indies or in Mexico, under whose guidance the pupils grew in body and mind and especially in virtue and rational control.¹ The co-operation which the friars received from Antonio Mendoza, Luís de Velasco, and the other viceroys was indispensable to the good work accomplished.² Neither will the Franciscan Motolinia allow to be forgotten the instructional assistance provided by advanced students from the boys' schools.³ But, in their leadership, the Franciscans did realize that the education of women was just as important for modifying the social structure of Spanish North America as was the training of men.

On February 4, 1530, an order was issued to the royal Audiencia to construct a building and monastery for some religious women who had come to establish themselves in Mexico. Some of these were very definitely Franciscan nuns.⁴ Certainly before 1535 these professed sisters, who seem to have followed the rule of the second order of St. Francis, had a monastery in Mexico City for housing and teaching more prominent women, natives as well as the daughters of Christians who lived there; two more such institutions were extant in Tezcucó (Tetzucó) and Guaxocingo before 1535.⁵ Whether or not the consecrated religious women who came to New Spain in the company of the Marqués del Valles and his wife sometime during the year 1530 were Franciscans, is not ascertainable from known sources.⁶ But, the queen had issued orders that

¹Ibid.

²Encinas, Provisiones, cédulas ..., año 1552, fol. 212; Toribio Motolinia, O.F.M., Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España (siglo XVI), Sanchez García edition, Trat. III. cap. xv, p. 229. Barcelona, 1914.

³"A la real audiencia: que mande construir casa y monasterio para unas religiosas que vienen a establecerse en Mexico"--Madrid, feb. 4, 1530, Documentos inéditos ó muy raros publicados por Genaro García, XV, No. III, 12-14, op. cit.

⁴Fr. Angel Ortega, O.F.M., "Las primeras maestras y sus colegios-escuelas de niñas en Mejico" (1530-1535), Archivo Ibero-Americano, XXXI, 259-276, 365-387. Madrid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶"Orden de la reina al marques del Valles, que pasaba a

the necessities of life should be provided for them since they served God and "will teach Indian girls."¹ Many of the devout women teachers of those early years were endowed by the queen with two hundred pesos de oro and were placed under the jurisdiction of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Gospel.²

According to García Cubas, the Franciscan nuns who were brought to Mexico under Zumárraga's educational leadership were the Conceptionists.³ These were founded in the Old World by Doña Beatriz de Silva, and since they followed the rule of St. Clare were placed under the direction of the Portuguese Franciscans after their approval by Pope Innocent VIII in 1498. Though they were then a comparatively new institute they had flourishing houses in Spain under the jurisdiction of the Franciscan province of Castile.⁴

In bringing these nuns to Mexico City Zumárraga had the valuable assistance of Don Andrés de Tapia. Here, in the center of things, the Conceptionists opened the convent of "La Concepcion," and adjacent to it started a small colegio which began in 1530 with four girl students, daughters of conquistadores. It was an endowed school and grew rapidly, so that in the course of time, its buildings and campus covered 32,000 square yards.⁵ Primary evidence that this institution was under the jurisdiction of the Franciscan Fathers in 1573 is found in the Archival Collection of the Archdiocese of Mexico City.⁶

Agustin de Vetancurt, who wrote in 1697, declares that Fray Antonio de la Cruz, O.F.M. brought some nuns to America from the convent of Santa Isabel in Salamanca. They, too, had Franciscan affiliation; their names were: Elena de Mediano, the superior,

Nueva España para que llevase en su compañía y la de su esposa, ciertas beatas religiosas que iban a enseñar la doctrina a las indias de aquella tierra (Nueva España)--De Madrid, 1530," Epistolario, II, 8-9, n. 82. Edition of 1939, pp. 244.

¹Ibid.

²"A real audiencia: que mande ... feb. 4, 1530," op. cit.

³Antonio García Cubas, El libro de mis recuerdos, pp. 21-28. Mexico, 1904.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Documentos inéditos (García, Genaro), op. cit., XV, No. 87, 182-183.

Paula de Santa Ana, Luisa de San Francisco, Francisca Evangelista. In this connection Vetancurt mentions the monastery of nuns "de la Concepcion Purisima de Nuestra Señora" which was founded in 1530 by four virtuous women, who lived for a time in the home of Andrés de Tapia "capitan conquistador," and made their vows into the hands of the Franciscan Bishop Zumárraga that same year.¹

From this convent others were founded; these also had schools for girls attached. Thus "Regina Coeli" opened its doors in 1570, "Jesus Maria" in 1580, "Balvanera" in 1573, "Encarnacion" in 1594, "Santa Inés" in 1600, "San Jose de Gracia" in 1610, and "San Bernardo" in 1636. These and other convents of later origin served educational purposes especially well in Mexico City until the promulgation of Article 76 of the governmental decree, issued February 5, 1861, dispersing the religious and confiscating their properties. Perhaps the most advanced and influential of these women's colleges was that of "Encarnacion" which had three distinct schools: the Escuela de Derecho (school of law), the Escuela de Parbulos (school for children), and the Escuela Normal de Profesoras (normal school for women professors).² Personnel statistics given by Cubas for each of these convent schools which seem to have recruited students only from the better Spanish families were as follows around the middle of the seventeenth century:

<u>Convent School</u>	<u>Number of Religious</u> <u>Women</u>
Encarnacion	44
Concepcion.	36
Jesus Maria	29
Regina Coeli.	30
Balvanera	27
Santa Inez.	17
San Bernardo.	23
San José de Gracia.	22

In the library of the National Museum of Archeology in Mexico City the writer inspected a 1642 copy of the General Constitutions of the Franciscan nuns.³ These statutes which were

¹Agustín de Vetancurt, O.F.M., Teatro Mexicano, II, 342 published as Tomo VIII of Biblioteca Historica de la Iberia. Mexico, 1871.

²Cubas, op. cit., pp. 21-28.

³Constitutiones generales para todas las monjas y reli-

approved in the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order held in Rome in 1639 under the minister general Father Juan Merinero, O.F.M., apply to all nuns subject to the Franciscan jurisdiction such as the Discalced Coletines, the Recollects, the Urbanists, the Conceptionists and the Third Order Regular, but they are pertinent here since they have a special section devoted to the colleges for secular women conducted by Franciscan nuns.¹

The Franciscan religious women are required in their semi-cloistered religious observance to lead a rather austere life of prayer and fasting, poverty and silence, chastity and obedience. Since the Nuns of the Most Holy Conception of the Mother of God, commonly referred to as the Conceptionists, conducted most of the schools the special section on colleges is mainly applicable to them. Their rule of life closely approximated that of the Friars Minor, under whose jurisdiction they worked and whose cardinal protector, Francisco Barberini, was also their intercessor at the papal court. Significant portions of these constitutions for Franciscan womens' colleges are here presented in a free translation. These were probably in effect, or at least had probationary status, for some time before their actual approval in 1639, since this is accepted canonical procedure.

Inasmuch as our religious order has many convents which have adjoining colleges for secular young ladies whose government pertain to the religious nuns, who are to see to their advancement in virtue and good manners, it is ordained for this reason that there be a separate building with entrance and exit distinct from that of the nuns and that such separation in accommodations be made, so that communication between the religious and the secular students be reduced to a minimum.

Whenever an election of an abbess takes place, the nuns are likewise later obliged to vote according to the same form--all religious participating--for a directress (rectora) or mother who shall rule or govern the said college and the young ladies, and they shall select from the convent three

glosas sujetas a la obediencia de la orden de n.p. S. Francisco en toda esta familia cismontana (de nuevo recopiladas). Madrid, 1642, fols. 128.

¹"Constitutiones generales para todas los colegios de donzellas seglares que estan en los conventos de la orden de n.p. S. Francisco, sujetas al gobierno de las monjas, y preladados dellas. Hechos, y aprobadas en el sobredicho Capitulo General de Roma, de ano de 1639--Min General, Fr. Juan Merinero, O.F.M.," ibid., fols. 122-126.

religious, one to be the portress or doorkeeper, another to perform the offices of mistress, and a procuratress who will have charge of providing for the needs of the college according to the orders of the mother superior

These three minor officials were responsible to the directress of the college and, through her, to the abbess and the council of the monastery. The abbess retained the right to visit, correct, and punish delinquencies in the school, and might make any provisions and regulations she considered opportune for promoting the general welfare of the institution.

Conduct rules for the girls residing at these convent schools were rather stringent. The pupils were forbidden to wear daring dress and coiffure such as was in style among women of the world; the constitutions prescribed more or less conservative clothes made of coarse flannel materials, or convent clothes with white upper basquina, minus "vain and curious habiliments."¹ The directress was obliged under penalty of losing her office to attend to proper housing and to insist also on the uniformity of dress among the girls, so that there might "not exist a difference among them, even as regards a ribbon."²

The students were obligated to lead a life almost identical with that of the professed nuns. There was reading at table, a great deal of silence, daily chapel, much prayer, meditation, and many other religious exercises, such as the daily recitation of the little office and crown of the Blessed Virgin; the observance of the common life was rigidly insisted upon. Visitors, other than parents and siblings, were not permitted to the students except with the special consent of the abbess who would appoint one of the religious to be present during the entire visit. A portress who dared to permit some young lady to carry on a continuous correspondence with an outsider, or who failed to keep the door to the girls' residence closed and locked at all times, was punished by deprivation of her office. A common refectory was maintained where all ate and dined in community fashion, at special places designated by the directress, who, either personally or by proxy through the mistress, presided during the meals while one of the girls read aloud from a spiritual book.³

Individualized instruction was given in reading and writ-

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

ing, as well as in various domestic arts and household duties; while one purpose of this curriculum was efficiency in these skills of civilization, another pronounced objective was to keep the girls occupied at all hours, lest idleness corrupt their virtue and good breeding.¹

These details of school life reveal the very strict discipline of convent schools in Mexico as also in Europe where the same statutes applied. The disciplinary emphasis thus sought the formation of pious habits and the avoidance of idleness; these habits are desirable but often vanish when discipline is lifted unless proper attitudes and appreciations be developed simultaneously. Why the secular girls in attendance had to live almost the same life as professed nuns, with a maximum of silence and a minimum of recreation, is difficult to explain when the educational objectives were preparation for secular life and the building of favorable attitudes toward Christian living. The constitutions strongly emphasize the locking of doors and the exclusion of seculars from conversation with the students so that when the girls were graduated they must have found themselves fitted for a very sheltered life unrelated to current problems. Later, however, as we have seen in the case of the three schools at "Encarnacion" College, different provisions were probably made for those women who studied law or attended the normal school for teachers; perhaps, then, these disciplinary regulations were restricted to the school for the younger girls.

The boarders at these colleges usually paid for their food on the basis of a tax set by the Father Provincial with the consent of the abbess, the directress, and the councillors of the convent. This tax varied according to the diversity of times and localities. In most of the convents the nuns were not allowed to remit anything of the entrance fee, poverty notwithstanding. When one of the boarders had completed her education she could for good reasons be excused from the twenty ducats, which in some ways resembled our graduation fee, except that this amount was also charged against board and lodging. The Father Provincial and the accountants fixed ceiling unit costs per pupil which the daily food bill was not permitted to exceed without a sufficient reason.²

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

No girl was permitted to be received into the said colleges, either as a day-student or as a boarder, unless she had received the majority of favorable votes cast by the abbess, the directress, the conventual counsellors, and the Father Guardian of the district who was to take up the votes. How this selective admissions policy operated the writer has no way of determining, but the statutes themselves indicate certain entrance requirements, namely: virtuous living, ability to pay entrance fee, good habits, and honorable reputation. The qualifications, therefore, were not intellectual, but moral and financial. If the applicant was thought to possess these qualifications by the majority of the voters, the Father Provincial was notified and asked to give his written permission under the large seal of the province, allowing the girl to enter the school as a secular student. Any abbess, directress, or nun permitting entrance to any person in any other manner was to be punished as a violator of conventual discipline. Another ordinary entrance requirement which gives us some idea of the age element was the express exclusion of married women and widows. Permission in individual cases and for urgent reasons could be given if the woman met all the other standards for admittance and received the Father Provincial's permission.¹

Supervision and periodic inspection of the colleges was in charge of the Franciscan provincials of the respective territories who were mainly obliged to look into the mode of life and customs of both the religious and the students, to see if they followed the statutes and the devout practices prescribed in their daily routine; their duty was to encourage piety, remedy defects, and expel the incorrigible.²

Another large section of the constitutions for these womens' colleges of Spanish Europe and Mexico is devoted to the amount of communication permitted between the nuns and the secular young ladies. Only the abbess, president, or vicar had general permission to visit the college. The door between the convent and college was kept locked at all times by the abbess and directress, who, under grievous penalties, were to open for no one except the vicar and the nuns who taught in the college. Complete fusion of the conventual and college communities was allowed only on the first days of the Easter season, the feast of the Assumption

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

(August 15), of the Immaculate Conception (December 8), and St. Francis day (October 4).¹ If the religious or the students found it necessary to confer at other times the former would have to secure the permission of the abbess, while the latter needed the sanction of the directress. The conversation had to be held in the so-called locutory and through a grate which was probably similar to the parlor grates found in cloistered communities to-day.

Financial reporting was also insisted upon by the statutes. As often as the abbess or the major-domo presented their records to the accountant of the province, the directress also was required to present her inventory of all that pertained to the hacienda of the college, the current funds, income from boarders' fees, graduation and tuition monies, and all the other items which the accountant considered pertinent to the interests of the institution. The college accounting system had to be in accord with the form and manner prescribed for the convents, but the two accounts were to be kept entirely separate. Surplus funds remaining after the expenses of the students and the building repairs had been cared for, were to be applied to the convent of the religious. The directresses were strictly forbidden, under penalties decreed by canon law against proprietors in religious institutes bound to poverty, to alienate these funds in any other way.²

The registrar's work seems to have been very light compared with the financial reporting that was required. Every college had to have a book of registry in which were to be written the name and date of admission of each day-student together with the name of her father and the place of her origin, while in another part of the same book was recorded the day on which she left or finished the course of her studies. In a separate book were to be kept the names and admission dates for the boarding students, how much each one paid, how far advanced they were educationally when they arrived, the amount they paid for the room or apartment which they occupied, and the day of their departure. All this was to be confirmed by the abbess, the directress, and the counsellors of the convent.³

In the event that any problem student or dangerous character gained admittance to the college she was reported to the

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

guardian of the neighboring district friary, but, if time did not permit and the case was apparent, witnesses were to be called in by the Mother Abbess and the vicar through whom the case was adjudicated. These witnesses could not be relatives or acquaintances of the religious unless the school was located among a people who had little association with the religious.

One of the final paragraphs of these statutes approved by the Franciscan General Chapter held in Rome, on June 11, 1639, under the presidency of Father Juan Merinero, O.F.M., is a worthwhile official statement of the Franciscan attitude toward education and is here reproduced in a free translation.

We ordain that these statutes and holy customs which are peculiar to the colleges for the good government of the secular young ladies, in as far as they do not contradict anything here determined, are to be safeguarded and observed with all punctuality, and we exhort the abbess, the directress, and the other religious to be vigilant in the observance of these rules and in the good education and training of the aforesaid seculars, because this work is heroic and very pleasing in the eyes of God.¹

This official acceptance of the education of seculars as a Franciscan activity is significant even today and vindicates the personal spiritual values attached to the work of Franciscan friars and sisters who have dedicated their lives to education.

¹Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

THE POLICY OF MASS EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Peter of Ghent's agency for social control in New Spain was formal education. His pattern was followed in those areas of North America where the Franciscans pioneered, unless it had to be limited or altered through lack of personnel, deficiency of aptitude on the part of the natives, or because of civil or ecclesiastical opposition.

Franciscan ideals, at least when attuned to those of St. Francis, are democratic ideals.¹ John Dewey identifies two distinct elements in the democratic ideal both of which seem to have been recognized by the Franciscan policy for achieving social change despite diverse languages, religions, traditions, moral codes, and living habits which were deeply entrenched and highly resistant to the newly imported social order. To quote the modern philosopher:

The two elements in our criterion both point to democracy. The first signifies not only more numerous and more varied points of shared common interest, but greater reliance upon the recognition of mutual interests as a factor in social control. The second means not only freer interaction between social groups but change in social habit--its continuous readjustment through meeting new situations produced by varied intercourse. And these two traits are precisely what characterize the democratically constituted society

Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder.²

In this chapter a fairly adequate sample of primary source materials will be presented from various regions and scattered periods of the Spanish domination in North America, to illustrate how a policy of mass education was adopted by the Franciscans to

¹Felder, op. cit., pp. 270-271.

²John Dewey, Democracy and Education, pp. 100, 115. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926.

personalize the impact of the new culture, and to secure its permanent adoption, by transmitting knowledge and understandings, attitudes and appreciations of their Spanish Catholic civilization to as many prospective converts as they could recruit for their specially constructed educational environment, which mirrored a foreign social order and was designed to prepare the individual for life therein.

This quite universal policy of mass education pursued by the Franciscans seemed to comport well with the early colonial policy, even though conflict on more and less important details later tended to destroy these amicable relationships. As early as 1503 an instruction was issued from Saragossa to the Governor and officials in the then known Indies emphasizing the maintenance of closed villages and reductions with churches and schools as agencies of conversion and civilization.¹ This document seems to leave many details of curriculum and personnel up to the good judgment of the officials, since the latter are simply directed to provide everything necessary in each pueblo they establish, so that the inhabitants are well instructed; no other study except religion is mentioned.

West Indies

Ortega² has adduced considerable evidence to show that Franciscan assistance was given Christopher Columbus by two friars of similar name, Antonius de Marchena, as astronomer, and Juan Perez de Marchena, as patron. The latter secured the interest of Queen Isabella, and encouraged the discoverer till the day of his departure, August 3, 1492. Franciscans accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, begun on September 24, 1493, though it is uncertain whether Friar Perez was among them. In 1502 the Friars Minor were active in Española (Haiti); we know the names of one

¹"Instruccion para el gobernador é oficiales sobre gobierno de las Indias, é lo que en ello se debe observar--De Zaragoza: a 29 de marzo de 1503," Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones Españolas. Real Archivo de Indias, 1 serie, XXXI, 156-174. Madrid, 1879.

²Angel Ortega, O.F.M., La Rabida--Historia documental crítica, Vols. II, III, Epoca Colombina Seville. Imprenta y editorial de San Antonio, 1925-1926. Four volumes.

priest, Rodrigo Perez, and two French lay-brothers, John Deledeule and John Tisim (Cosin).¹ Schools, where reading, Christian doctrine, writing, counting, and singing were taught, were founded in 1502 at Nueva Isabella and at La Vega; after the first Franciscan province of the New World was established in 1505, more schools can be identified in Cuba (1505), San Juan (1511), and Darien (1512).² About the same time the Friars Minor established schools in Borinquen and other sections of Porto Rico.³

In the year 1512 three bishops were consecrated for the Indies, namely, Fray Garcia de Padilla, O.F.M., who had been named bishop of Santo Domingo already in 1504, Pedro Suarez de Daza, bishop of Concepcion, and Alonso Manso, bishop of San Juan, Porto Rico. That same year a royal cedula was issued to the Franciscan provincial of Santiago in Spain, urging him to send forty friars of his Order who were learned and suited to teach the Indians of the Tierrafirme and the islands of Cuba, Jamaica, and San Juan.⁴ By 1516 both the Dominicans and the Franciscans had achieved considerable success in various sections of the West Indies such as Cumana, Maracapana, and Començaro under their vicar Fray Juan Garzez, O.F.M. A secular priest of the middle sixteenth century writes very commendatorily of their work in this area: "The religious who reside in both monasteries have produced excellent fruit in conversion and in teaching many children of the señores

¹Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias, XXX, 157-161; Archivo-Ibero-Americano, VI, 161. Madrid, Costa, 1920; Bartolomé Las Casas, Historia de las Indias (1561), III, 372. Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1927; Leslie Byrd Simpson, The Encomienda in New Spain, p. 48. University of California Publications in History, Vol. XIX. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1929.

²Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., Missions and Missionaries of California, I, 10, 11, 601. San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry and Company, 1908-1915; Francis Harold, O.F.M., Epitome Annalium (ad annum 1493 et seq.). Rome, 1662. Luke Wadding, O.F.M., Annales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (ad annum 1493 et seq.) (Lyons, 1625-1654). Quaracchi, Italy, 1920.

³Antonio C. Mendoza, Historia de la educacion en Puerto Rico (1512-1826), pp. 81-85. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America.

⁴"Real cedula al provincial de Santiago encargando el señalamiento de cuarenta frailes de la orden de San Francisco, doctos é habiles para doctrinar a los indios de Tierrafirme, é islas de Cuba, Jamaica y San Juan--Burgos: á 27 de junio de DXII años (1512)," ibid., 2 serie, pp. 26-27. Madrid, 1885.

and principal tribes how to read, write, and respond at mass."¹ Their students were probably recruited, therefore, from both the Spanish and the Indian populations. It seems also that the religious were anxious to have secular clergy help with the instruction of Indians in these areas, because of the large percentages of Spaniards in the population. For remedying excesses which occurred in the Indies before 1516 some religious (probably Franciscans and Dominicans) of the islands of Española (Haiti), Cuba, Jamaica, and San Juan proposed that in the settlement of the Indian question, instruction and education of the Indians be considered, and those of Cuba, in particular, asked for the establishment of Franciscan and Dominican friaries in order that provision might be made for the needs of both soul and body.² This request seems to be quite clearly directed at the policy of Indian enslavement and the depopulation of these islands to make more room for Spanish colonists.

The document is very specific in its instructions and surprisingly liberal to the secular clergy who must have been quite numerous among the white population. The anonymous religious asked for clergy who would teach and instruct the Indians, for bachelors of grammar, physicians, surgeons, druggists, procurators for the needs of the Indians, hospital major-domos, and so forth; each village should have ten clerics and a bachelor of grammar for the youth in addition to the teacher of reading and writing.³ But especially surprising is the emphasis placed on sex education of the Indians that they might increase and multiply. To quote:

Likewise those who have reached the age of twenty or twenty-five should marry and take their brides, and the women their grooms, and they should not consent to remain in common law marriage if they live a marital life, being first instructed therein, so that they might procreate children and multiply,

¹Francisco Lopez de Gomara, La historia general de las Indias, pp. 98-100. En Anvers en casa de Juan Steelfio, Año MDLIV (1554). Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

²"Relaciones que hicieron algunos religiosos sobre los escesos que habia en Indias, y varios memoriales de personas particulares que informan de cosas que convendria remediar," s.a. (circa 1516), Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de America y Oceania, VII, 14-65. Madrid, 1867.

³Ibid., pp. 42-43.

except those who intend to become friars or clerics; such should be given to the friars who will instruct them accordingly while those who intend to become clerics should be placed in the church where they will in the course of time learn grammar; and the children who are inclined to work or learn should be instructed in these things and other good customs and thus teach the whole community.¹

The Franciscan Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, who, together with Hadrian of Utrecht, ruled the Spanish empire after King Ferdinand's death on January 23, 1516, was alert to the needs of the Indies and showed a particular interest in the human dignity of the Indian natives and the Negroes of the Spanish islands. When Las Casas and the Franciscans of Santo Domingo complained to him, he immediately insisted that the submerged and enslaved groups be protected and given a fundamental Christian education.² The record shows that, already in 1516, the Cardinal regent called a session of the junta, composed of both canon and civil lawyers, which drew up the following seven-point Indian charter.³

1. The Indians are free persons.
2. They are to be Christianized.
3. They can be compelled to work, but this labor may not interfere with the program of the friars nor impede the higher welfare of the state.
4. The work may not be excessive.
5. The Indians should possess private property.
6. They should be allowed to mingle with the public and should be given an education, especially in Christian doctrine.
7. The Indians should receive wages, not in money, but in goods that are necessary and useful for them.

Ximenes, though a Franciscan, was not partial to his Order, but invited the Dominicans and others to help in the implementation

¹ Ibid., pp. 45-46.

² "Asiento y Capitulación de Bartolomé de Las Casas, que hizo con S.M., sobre descubrimiento y población en Terra-Firme, desde la Provincia de Paria hasta la de Santa Marta, por la costa del Mar. Fecha en la cibdad de la Coruña: a 19 de Mayo de 1520 años," ibid., VII, 65-89. Madrid, 1867; "Carta de los Frayles de San Francisco de la Provynia de Sancto Domingo de la Ysla Española al Reverendissimo é muy Magnifico Senor Don Frey Francisco Ximenez, Arzobispo de Toledo Cardenal Despaña. Santo Domingo: 15 de hebre-ro de 1516," ibid., XXXVI, 442-445. Madrid, 1882; "Memorial de 20 junio de 1517" and "Memorial de 22 de junio de 1517," ibid.; Bartolomé Las Casas, Historia de las Indias, Lib. III, cap. lxxxviii.

³ "El parecer de algunos señores sobre los indios" (s.a.) circa 1516, Colección de documentos inéditos relativos ..., VII, 11-12.

of these provisions for the civilization of the Indians.

Mexico

The first contingent of three Franciscan missionaries to Mexico in 1523 was shortly followed by the arrival of the "twelve apostles" as they are affectionately called in missionary annals. Under the leadership of Fray Martin of Valencia, O.F.M., these twelve took up their residences in four of the main areas already conquered by Cortés, namely, Mexico City (population of about 350,000); Tezcuco area (with a population variously given at 30,000 to 70,000); Tlaxcala area (with a population of 200,000); and the Guaxozingo area (with a population of some 80,000).

The friars arranged with the principal Indians of each region for the construction of a lower apartment or house (un aposento bajo) in which there would be a large room or hall which might be used for the instruction and lodging of the boys of native chieftains in the vicinity. These apartments were usually on the north side of the church. Hence, we must conclude that even elementary instruction imparted by the friars was often of a resident character. In each district there were also other small rooms adjoining the church and aposenito where many facilities were provided for the children.¹ In their educational ventures the missionaries were supported by the secular governors of the regions who ordered the Indians to respect the religious as they would the civil authorities.²

Because of the compulsory attitude which was taken toward the education of their sons, the chieftains, though usually well-disposed, at times encouraged their vassals and servants to send their young boys to the aposenitos, meanwhile slyly restricting the attendance of their own children. This hesitant attitude of the chieftains to profit by the proffered opportunities had the effect of equalizing educational opportunities, since many sons of the lower classes after completing the studies given them by the Franciscans were equipped to govern and lead their tribes and, as Mendieta states, became officials and governors, so that the tables of authority were turned, and the one-time masters actually were subservient to the possessors of greater skill and knowledge.

¹Mendieta, op. cit., pp. 216-219.

²Ibid.

Thus the schools, originally intended by the civil authorities to become a means of class distinction, began to serve the masses. The Franciscan spirit was friendly to the circumstance.

The democratic character of the early Franciscan schools in Mexico is shown by the actual protests which arose when it was discovered that Indians, sons of the laboring and plebeian class, formerly servants to the native aristocracy, were in positions of command.¹ The civilian government contended that this caused confusion among the natives, and since the Spaniards themselves believed in social class and caste, the continuance of the laudable custom of the friars was interdicted, and the European plan in vogue prior to the French Revolution was forced upon them. No longer were the children of laborers and plebeians allowed to learn letters side by side with the sons of the chieftains in formal schools, but the fathers and brothers gathered these submerged but socially mobile groups into the patios of their churches and instructed them.² The same governmental policy was also pursued toward the schooling of the daughters even of aristocrats; thus, widespread opposition toward the education of girls and socially underprivileged marked the Franciscan educational advance.

Though not universally effective in Spanish North America, the educational system of mass Indian education designed to modify the native social order, was, therefore, in the course of time, formally restricted by the government to the sons of the nobility (hijos de los principales); the escuela and the apostento bajo were now intended for their training as gentlemen and persons of nobility.³ They were prepared to meet the public service needs of native government, and the religious service needs of the church.

But the government could not well restrict the informal and semi-formal schooling of the sons of workers and plebeians and that of girls, who were permitted to attend Franciscan churches for daily mass. The ingenuity of the friars led them to set the time for religious services at an early hour, so that more time was available for formal instruction in Christian doctrine and the fundamental skills of civilization. When these children became adolescent they were permitted to receive instruction in the

¹Codice Franciscano, op. cit., pp. 62-64. ²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 62: "como caballeros y personas nobles."

offices and trades of their fathers to make them self-sustaining and helpful to the state.¹

The Franciscan schools for the masses were elementary; but both children and adults were taught reading, writing, Christian doctrine, ecclesiastical chant, and sometimes also instrumental music, manual and domestic arts, and in several instances even agriculture. We receive a rather clear picture of what the Indians were offered from some unpublished manuscripts found in the Bancroft Library.² One of these is a reply written by Friar Antonio Arpide, O.F.M., on March 23, 1753 to a letter of Don Francisco Ximenes Caro, dated December 2, 1752, in which the latter wants a school set up in which the Indians can learn Spanish.³ Father Arpide makes the point that too many Spanish customs have already been imposed on the Indians in their indomitable status and that too rigid zeal for quickly changing habits and language is not accompanied by a complete change of heart. He compares the Indians with the Jewish people of old who frequently forsook their new life to seek the golden calf. He defends the policy of the early Franciscan pioneers who began by teaching the Indians their own language and idioms so that they might read and write the same. The "fathers were experimenting" and found that if they interested themselves in the works and idiom of the natives by having them participate and contribute in their own way to the changing conditions, the Indians were more amenable to discipline and would be taught Christian doctrine and manual arts under favorable conditions. In addition, many were at this time being taught chanting and singing, mechanical work, and religious architecture, orthography, punctuation, and correspondence. The brightest and more advanced students were taught grammar and some theology.

That the Franciscan pioneers were thus engaged some two hundred years earlier is brought out by one of Sahagun's works which until recently was considered lost. In his prologue to the prudent reader of 1583 he states:

¹Ibid.

²"Maltratamiento de Indios," Mexican MS 135, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

³Fray Antonio Arpide, O.F.M., "Perdicion de los Indios de Nueva España y sus causas," ibid., No. 17.

. . . . with great fervor the religious have mastered the Mexican language and have composed grammars and vocabularies thereof, and with great fervor they have preached and administered the sacraments and have taught many young lads to read and write and chant and count--these were kept in great numbers in our houses and ate and slept there¹

In May, 1533, Fray Testera, Custos, wrote to Charles V from the convent at Ruxucinco, and in this document signed by seven additional friars, devotes a brief paragraph to the Indian children.²

What shall we say about the children of the natives of this country? They write, read, chant in plain chant and with organ, know counterpoint and make books of chant and teach others music, but, especially ecclesiastical chant, and they preach in the towns those sermons which we teach them, and recite them with very good spirit

The preceding November, Friar Martin de Valencia and nine other Franciscans in the convent at Guatitan had written a letter to the emperor defending their policies and explaining the difficulties of their work.³ They first had to destroy innumerable idols and false pagan temples and eradicate the appetite for human sacrifices before they could Christianize the Indians. But, since 1523 they had baptized some 100,000 natives, mostly children. In a brief time, the letter states, the friars had acquired a great proficiency in the language of the natives so that they could direct, guide, and teach them the blindness and errors of their rites and ceremonies, preaching in the market-place and conversing with natives in their own tongue. But "to achieve more permanent results" (author's italics) and to erase from memory all pagan

¹Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., Colloquios (El Libro Perdido de las Platicas o Colloquios de los Doce Primeros Misioneros de Mexico), 1583, p. 17. Biblioteca Aportacion Historica. Vargas Rea, editor--ejemplar 74. Mexico, 1944.

²"Carta de Fray Jacobo de Testera, y de otros religiosos de la órden de San Francisco, al emperador D. Carlos, dándole cuenta del estado de sus misiones y de la buena disposicion de los indios. Convento de Ruxucinco de maio de 1533," Facsimile H, Cartas de Indias, pp. 62-67. (Quotation taken from p. 65.)

³"Carta de Fray Martin de Valencia, custodio, y de otros religiosos de la órden de San Francisco, al emperador Don Carlos, refiriéndole el resultado de sus misiones en la Nueva España y los grandes servicios del obispo electo Fray Juan de Zumárraga. Guatitan, 17 de noviembre de 1532," Facsimile G, Cartas de Indias, pp. 54-62.

superstitions "they founded schools for children" (author's italics), especially for the sons of chieftains and the principal tribesmen. In those friary schools, according to Father Martin and his community, the children were taught to read, write, and sing plain chant, and to chant with organ accompaniment, to recite the hours, officiate at the masses, and were inducted into all the good customs of the Christian religion. Frequently, the children brought their parents and elders to be instructed.

Another document, written in 1572, indicates that a truly parochial school policy had been put into practice.¹ It praises the work of the lay-brother Pedro de Gante, who, for almost fifty years, had successfully conducted the school in Mexico City with the aid of other religious teachers, and after stating the need of education in addition to the administration of the sacraments, continues:

. . . and for this reason in every pueblo where we reside we have a school in conjunction with the church, where the children of the principal tribes are kept, and where they learn to read, write, and chant . . . with great fruit according to their capacity and talent

It seems, therefore, that some adjustment was made even on this elementary level to the individual differences of the pupils.

Michoacán

In the Michoacán province of Franciscans similar educational activities were carried on, since the chronicler tells us passim that the pupils were taught to read and that a religious priest residing there was very learned in theology and letters and taught grammar.² In the course of time many Indians learned to read and write and others learned to officiate at the divine offices, while all were taught habits of politeness and good breeding. It is of peculiar interest to note that in this

¹Nueva colección de documentos inéditos para historia de Mexico, IV, 176-177. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, 1892.

²Padre Pablo Beaumont, O.F.M., Cronica de la provincia de los Santos Apostolos S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Michoacán, de la regular observancia de n.p. S. Francisco, Parte I, Lib. I, cap. xx; "Declaración del Sr. Zumárraga á favor del Sr. D. Vasco de Quiroga, en el proceso de residencia de la segunda audiencia," in Icazbalceta, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Appendix, p. 84.

Michoacán school children of diverse languages, the poor and the orphaned and those from distant regions were instructed according to the proper language and habitat of each.

The education of girls, as we have seen, was well in hand; whether any of the schools thus far described were co-educational is not definitely ascertainable though a letter issued jointly by several bishops as early as 1537 would contradict any such arrangement.¹ This letter mentions episcopal schools (casas episcopales) in eight or nine pueblos which must take care of the girls with the aid of religious women teachers from Castile, while the friars have charge of the boys.

Xalisco

However, an example of co-education or at least co-ordinate instruction is found in the Xalisco Franciscan Province of St. James. The convent of St. Francis de Tzacocalca, which is about twelve leagues² from the city of Guadalajara, was founded in 1550 and had four pueblos for which to care. The teaching of doctrine in these towns was supervised by three or four fathers with the assistance of an Indian (Indio ladino) who knew enough Spanish to be understood. This instruction was given to both young lads and maidens (muchachos y muchachas).³ During the week they were taught to read and write, and those who were capable and gifted with strong voices became chanters in the church.

At Etzatlan, in the same province of Xalisco, the teacher was the Franciscan lay-brother, Juan Francisco, who had been a student teacher under Gante in Mexico City, while at Tuchpan, an Indian graduate of the Franciscan college at Tlalatelolco, where he studied Latin and philosophy, gave more advanced training to his

¹"Carta de los illmos sres. obispos de Mexico, Oajaca y Guatemala (nov. 30, 1537) sobre la ida al concilio general, y siden sobre Distintos Puntos, así de Diezmos, como otros para la buena planta y permanencia de la fé en este Nuevo Mundo," ibid., p. 97.

²A league is about three-and-four-tenths of an English mile.

³"Fragmentos de la cronica de la provincia de Franciscanos de Santiago de Xalisco," p. 104, Colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, Tomo I. Eufemio Mendoza, editor. Mexico, 1871.

fellow tribesmen.¹

The same educational policy was followed in the doctrinas as obtained in the pueblos. These doctrinas were convenient religious and social centers which were under the jurisdiction of neighboring missions or parishes; like all the pueblos in New Spain they also had schools under Indian assistant teachers, where children, adolescents, and not infrequently adults, learned to read and to write. Many of the primers used were religious in character--catechisms of Christian doctrine composed in the various native dialects by the friars and printed in America.² Many of these manuals were used by the pupils to win others to the new order.

Zacatecas

The same policy of mass education was followed in the territory served by the Franciscans of Zacatecas Province where the friars erected their first permanent house in 1556.³ Formal schools existed in all pueblos; the curriculum included reading, writing (at first in Indian, then in Spanish), religion, and a great deal of choric chant to enhance the divine services in the pueblo chapels, many of which were without organ. The Indians were given jobs to do around the premises to offset their inclination toward idleness, while the more promising were selected to teach music and other subjects to the older inhabitants of the pueblos.

Yucatan

The challenge which Indian savagery was making to civilization in the viewpoint of many conquerors, was being met gradually by the civilization of many savages through education. To

¹Ibid., pp. 28, 33.

²"Relacion de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Michoacan, Oaxaca, y otros lugares, en el siglo XVI," p. 29, Documentos ineditos de Mejico (Colección Joaquín García Icazbalceta), Tomo II. Publicada por primera vez--Luís García Pimentel. Mexico, 1904.

³Fr. José Arlegui, O.F.M., Cronica de la provincia de n.s.p. S. Francisco de Zacatecas, pp. 57, 116. Mexico, 1731 (re-published in 1851).

further exemplify this contention the evidence turns to Yucatan, which the Franciscans entered as early as 1535, and which was erected into the province of St. Joseph in 1565.¹ Fray Alonso Ponce, O.F.M., commissary general of the Franciscans of New Spain, made a visitation of the province in 1588; a few extracts of the report written by his secretary, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Real, O.F.M., will give us a fair idea of the educational activities carried on by the Yucatecan Franciscans.

The first ministers of the Gospel that entered Yucatan were our friars (Franciscans) who have continued in this apostolic office without others, of any other order entering except in passing to other parts. . . . All the Indians of that province, that are in the care of our friars, speak a language called Mayathan or Maya language, except those of Campeche . . . and those of Tixchel . . . , but they are very few in number compared with the Maya. . . . They are commended . . . among all the others of New Spain . . . that in their antiquity they had characters and letters, with which they used to write their histories and the ceremonies and methods of sacrifices to their idols, and their calendar, in books made of the bark of a certain tree, and that were very long strips of a fourth or third part of a yard in width, that were folded and gathered in such a way that they looked more or less like a book bound in quarto. Only the priests of the idols . . . and some principal Indians understood these letters and characters; afterwards some of our friars understood and knew how to read them, and even wrote them, but because in these books were mixed many things of idolatry they burned almost all of them, and thus was lost the knowledge of many ancient matters² of that land, which by them could have been known

The friars, therefore, had a very intelligent tribe to deal with in Yucatan. Their commissary general and modern ethnologists chide them for their imprudent zeal in destroying much of recorded Yucatecan history; the Franciscan Sahagun, who preserved much of Aztec lore for posterity, would also have condemned this wanton destruction. Yet, if they were going to teach the Mayan masses to read, it was certainly not their intention to have them

¹D. Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona, Vida de V. Padre Fray Manuel Martinez célebre Franciscano Yucateco, o sea estudio histórico sobre la extincion de la orden Franciscana en Yucatan, y sobre sus consecuencias, p. 45. Merida, Yucatan, Mexico, 1883.

²Fray Alonso Ponce, O.F.M., Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al P. Fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de Nueva España ... escrita por ... sus compañeros, 2 vols. Madrid, 1873. Translation by Ernest Noyes, "Fray Alonso de Ponce, 1588," pp. 314-315. Middle American Research Department, Tulane University, New Orleans, 1932.

read about Mayan pagan culture, but about the Spanish Christian civilization. On this rationale their educational objective was definite, their schools were planned, and the social order they came to introduce was blue-printed.

Wherever the Father Commissary went, he was well received by friars and Indians alike, the latter performing for him in rhythmic dances and song, with flutes and other instruments which the friars taught them how to make and play. Fray Antonio states that the dances were pantomime or sham battles depicting the conflict between the Moors and Christians; the Indians were costumed accordingly. Perhaps we should allow Ponce's secretary to describe one or other of the friars convents.¹ The city of Cumkal lies a short distance northeast of Merida and has one of the first friaries built in that province with upper and lower cloister, dormitories, and cells:

. . . . all is of stone and clay with little lime, although whitewashed on the outside; some of the cells have vaulted roofs and others roofs of wood, and in one of them the friars pray and keep the Most Holy Sacrament; next to the convent is a good-sized patio, whitewashed, with many orange trees arranged in rows and in it are the chapel and ramada (a hut covered the branches of trees) for the Indians, as in the other towns, and the school where they learn to read, write, and count, with much care and diligence, which is not only done in all the head-towns where there are convents, but also in all the mission towns (pueblos de visita), however small they be, because in all of them there is a schoolmaster and singers to officiate at the masses, and who recite together the Office of Our Lady and learn to read and write, and plain song and chant with organ accompaniment, and to play flutes, oboes, sackbuts and trumpets, in all of which they surpass those of the other provinces of New Spain.

In St. Michael's friary at Mani in central Yucatan there was "a square patio," continues the scribe,

. . . . in which there are many orange trees in rows, and four chapels, one in each corner. In this patio, next to the church, is the school for the Indians, the best in the whole province, from which more and better singers come, because they have funds for the masters and fiscales, and thus great care is taken in all things. A lay brother, called Fray Juan de Herera, very able and of good bearing, put this school in order in times gone by, and taught many Nauatlato²s our Castilian language and who, desiring to die a martyr, after-

¹Ibid., pp. 328, 335, 342, 355.

²People of Nahau or Aztec speech.

wards went to Mexico and from there to the Chichimecas¹ where those barbaric infidels killed him. For the service of the school there is another water channel from where water is conducted in channels to a stone trough in the patio

According to the report there were sixty-four Yucatecan friaries visited by the commissary general in 1588; the number of religious in each varied a great deal but the extensiveness of both their religious and educational works is made visually manifest by the accompanying map. In 1820, despite previous secularization of religious houses and churches, the friars still carried on their educational work in some twenty-eight convents in the diocese of Merida. That year their work was made entirely impossible by the constitution and laws of Spain under the influence of so-called liberal reforms made in imitation of decrees adopted by French revolutionaries.²

The secular bishop of Merida, writing in 1883, considered the suppression of the Franciscans in Yucatan a great chastisement for both the clergy and the people since to the friars he ascribed their Christianization and civilization.³ The prelate declared that, according to original documents of the year 1808, each friary was a small college or at least a school for primary instruction, and in many other ways a focal point of civilization and beneficence.⁴

The lay-brother Fray Juan de Herrera, O.F.M., mentioned in the Ponce report, was very adept at the Mayan tongue and taught the native characters in reading and writing so well to the native youth attending his school that many of his graduates in a short time became scribes and governors of towns. This induced a laudable envy on the part of the older tribesmen, who seeing their own sons socially mobile through formal education, began themselves to take great interest in the teachings of Brother John.⁵

A Franciscan memorial of 1586 kept in the general archives of the Indies gives us some statistics for the province of

¹Any unsubjugated Indians north of Mexico City.

²D. Crescencio Carillo y Ancona, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Fray Diego Lopez de Cogolluda, O.F.M., *Historia de Yucatan* (siglo XVII), pp. 255-256. Merida, Yucatan, Mexico, 1867-1868.

St. Joseph of Yucatan, twenty-one years after its establishment.¹ They had baptized 80,682 souls. The administration of numerous pueblos was directed from the cities but even in the pueblos, according to Ponce, there was always some formal education in reading, writing, religion, and chant, at least supervised by the friars.

<u>Friaries in Cities of the</u> <u>Yucatecan Province, 1586</u>	<u>Number of At-</u> <u>tached Pueblos</u>
Merida	6
Hocaba	9
Homun.	5
Mani	8
Hotxcuxcab	3
Ticax.	3
Cunkal	7
Motul.	8
Dzidzomtun	7
Ytzmal	10
Tikanto.	7
Tixcokob	6
Tahuman.	4
Hunucma.	3
Dzical	14
Titzimin	10
Tinum.	5
Ychmul	9
Campeche	8
Xecekhakan	6
Calkini.	5
Tixchel.	<u>4</u>
Friaries in 22 cities.	147 pueblos

The first bishop of Yucatan, Fray Francisco de Toral, O.F.M. (1560-1571), in a report made to his majesty's council, writes of the young lads from the school, who chant the prayers and the doctrine at the doors of their homes and in the streets, so that those who have not memorized them may become better informed by hearing these lads sing them. Religious instruction had the priority in these schools but reading, singing, instru-

¹"Memorial que el provincial y definidores de la provincia de San Joseph de Yucatán envían al real consejo de las Indias en la carte del rey don Felipe nuestro Señor," Año de 1586, Archivo General de Indias, Mexico 3167, in Documentos para la historia de Yucatan, Vol. II; La Iglesia en Yucatan (1560-1610), No. XXXI, pp. 95-101. Edited by France V. Scholes, C. R. Menendez, J. I. Rubio Mañé, y Eleanor Adams. Merida, Yucatan, Mexico, 1938.

mental music, and writing were not neglected.¹

Northern Mexico

Among the solitary and cannibalistic Chichimeca tribes of northern Mexico the missionaries first had to work at luring them away from their beautiful mountain retreats and reducing them to organized village life. Then only were churches and schools constructed. From the limited source material available it seems that music and religious doctrinal chant were emphasized in these Franciscan schools among the Chichimecas.² The same is true among the Tarascans except that definite evidence exists that Fray Juan de Espinosa, O.F.M., having practically built the pueblo of Tarequato, founded a school where the children learned to read, write, and chant.³ But, in the northern territory there were always many excellent Indian organists and masters of music in the pueblos which is indicative of the place music education had in the Franciscan plan for civilizing the more barbarous tribes.⁴ In this same region before it was separated from the jurisdiction of the Franciscan provincial of Mexico City, about five hundred boys of the tribesmen were kept in various convents, that from them the first friars might learn the native tongues, and that these youth, having been instructed in the Catholic faith, might be prepared as preachers and teachers in the pueblos the friars would organize.⁵

Some two hundred years later the Friars Minor were still working at the social and religious uplift of these wild tribes in the Sierra Gorda region northeast of the Sierra Madre chain of

¹"Avisos del muy ilustre y reverendísimo señor don Fray Francisco de Toral, O.F.M. (1560-1571) primer obispo de Yucatán, Cozumel y Tabasco del consejo de su majestad," sin fecha, *ibid.*, p. 28.

²Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, O.F.M., Cronica de la provincia Franciscana de los apostoles San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacan, 1751. Publicada por vez primera a Dr. Nicolas Leon, p. 177. Mexico, 1899.

³*Ibid.*, p. 455.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁵"Carta del Fr. Martin de Valencia, O.F.M. custodio de provincia de el Santo Evangelio al Rmo. P. Fr. Mathias Weinssens, O.F.M., comisario general de la provincia cismontana de la orden de n.p. S. Francisco, Mexico, 12 de junio, 1531," *ibid.*, pp. 117-119.

mountains. Between Tampico and San Antonio, but especially along the gulf coasts of northeastern Mexico and southeastern Texas, numerous but illusive barbarous tribes resisted colonization by miners and ranchers, and the attempts of the Franciscans from the missionary colleges of San Fernando, Zacatécas, and Querétaro to Christianize and civilize them. They went about naked, lived in mountainous caverns, spoke a confusion of languages, ate raw meat and wild fruits, and were notorious for murder, deception, and stealing.¹

The friars accompanied the conquistadores and stockmen into the treacherous region which Spain began to occupy only in the early eighteenth century, to protect herself from the French who already controlled Louisiana. But the Franciscans worked on the principle that an educated nation will not starve, and a starving nation will not be educated. Hence, Father Cyprian, president of the missions in the province of Nuevo Santander, urged financial aid from the royal treasury to fill the stomachs of the ferocious tribes.² Other friars began teaching them stock-raising, agriculture³ and, particularly, the preservation of fish through the use of salt.⁴ This was a great boon to a people situated on the Gulf Coast.

The teaching of religion was made attractive by numerous benefactions in clothes and food which the padres distributed along with their spiritual blessings.⁵ At the mission San Felipe, in charge of Fray Antonio Xavier de Arechaga, O.F.M., an alumnus of the Franciscan mission college of Guadalupe at Zacatécas, the natives were permitted to use the mission irrigation system to

¹Lawrence Francis Hill, José de Escandón and the Founding of Nuevo Santander, p. 51. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1926; Fr. Vicente Santa Maria, Relación historica de la colonia del Nuevo Santander y costa del Seno Mexicano, I, 60-155. Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico.

²Hill, op. cit., p. 103; "Escandon to the viceroy, June 13, 1750," Provincias Internas, CLXXII, 125-127. MS transcript in Bancroft Library.

³Hill, op. cit., p. 119.

⁴Ibid., p. 128.

⁵Ibid., pp. 127-128; "Noticias de las misiones de Tampico sacadas de papeles originales existentes en el archivo del convento grande de n.p. San Francisco de Mexico," in Archivo General y Publico de Mexico, section Historia, LIII, 118-124; LIV, 150-157; LVI, 154-231. Copies in Bancroft Library.

cultivate corn and cane, lest they might starve through lack of fish and game.¹

Though it took Spain almost three centuries to colonize the territory conquered by Cortés and claimed for the Spanish crown, the Franciscans remained loyal to the commissions given their predecessors by popes and kings to convert and civilize the natives as soon as military might had subdued them. Thus, when the regions of Panuco, Sierra Gorda, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Texas, and Sierra de Tamaulipas, were being colonized, the friars had just begun the establishments of their mission colleges in Mexico, to each of which certain territories were assigned. According to a 1792 map of the Sierra Gorda region and borderlands, preserved in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City,² the Friars Minor had four missions under the jurisdiction of their mission college at Pachuca, sixteen under the custody of Tampico, eight under the custody of Rio Verde, eight under the province of Zacatécas, three administered by the mission college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, twelve staffed by alumni from the college of Guadalupe de Zacatécas, and six by the apostolic college of San Fernando in Mexico City.

In all these missions the friars taught religion and the useful arts, and attempted to elevate the Indians to a new social status and rôle by making them self-supporting and in large measure self-governing.³ Yet, all along the eastern Gulf Coast, extending southward from San Antonio almost to Querétaro, formal reading and writing schools are conspicuously absent. The reasons are not difficult to find. The tribes inhabiting these areas were some of the most ferocious, who had probably refused to allow themselves to be conquered by the Spaniards and took refuge in the rocky caverns of the Sierra Madres. A second explanation might be found in the relative state of primitive culture possessed by such semi-civilized nations as the Aztecs and Mayas, and the almost complete absence of the arts and skills of civilization among the marauding savages of the Sierra Gorda and Seno Mexicano districts. Among the former the friars found greater aptitude

¹Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

²This map has been reproduced by Hill, *ibid.*, appendix.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 117, 128.

for intellectual pursuits through formal schooling, while among the latter they restricted themselves to the teaching of Christian doctrine and such arts and skills of civilization as would minister to bodily needs.

The Franciscan province of Sts. Peter and Paul was a custody of the Holy Gospel province from 1535 to 1565, at which time the general chapter of Valladolid made it an independent unit, including therein the territory of Nueva Galicia and the present states of Michoacán and Xalisco. It was given a difficult assignment: the conversion and civilization of the Chichimecas, a fiery and hardened tribe, warring with spears in almost constant civil strife, worshipping demons, differing from the Indians of other parts of New Spain in ferocity, bodily endurance, language and manners. In the Michoacán area of which Valladolid (the present Morelia) was the capital and bishopric, the friars had in 1585 six monasteries in pueblos where there were both Spaniards and Indians, and fifteen monasteries where there were Indians only. In the Xalisco area (its capital was Guadalajara, the bishopric of Nueva Galicia) they had during the same year six monasteries ministering to both Spaniards and Indians and twenty-one serving Indians alone.¹

Years before this province of Sts. Peter and Paul achieved independent status, formal educational institutions had been set up for teaching all the children reading, writing, and Christian doctrine. These were largely the work of Father Francisco Lorenzo and the religious lay-brother Miguel de Estivales who founded a school in Ahuactlan some time after 1550.² Fray Andrés de Medina who had been sent from the Indians of Huaynamota to those of Sierra de Tepec founded a reading and writing school for the youth of the latter, but provoked a minor revolution among them by employing corporal punishment.³ Apparently the Huaynamota natives had been used to such discipline, but his new pupils were not; his colleagues had considered flogging an evil. The chronicler concludes, however, that the zealous missionary escaped with

¹Fray Didacus Muñoz, O.F.M., "Descripción de la provincia de los apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo en las Indias de la Nueva España" (Michoacán and Xalisco), 1585. This report to the Minister General of the Observants was first published by P. Athanasius Lopez, O.F.M. in Archivo-Ibero-Americano, XVIII (1922), 384.

²Ibid., XIX (1922), 251.

³Ibid., p. 263.

his life.¹

After provincial independence had been effected a report of November 8, 1569,² requested that his majesty give an allotment of ten pesos annually for each chanter, that: "In every convent the religious have an Indian master who teaches reading, writing, chant, and instrumental music to all the youth who come to be instructed and there are many already who are very skillful in chant and music" Indicative of a sort of teachers' strike due to an insufficiency of funds for payment of salaries, the report continues, "every Indian will leave since the religious do not have anything to give, unless you pay." That the king might know the extent of this work the following statistics are included in various sections of the report. They exclude ministrations to Spaniards. These figures were, no doubt, psychologically intended

Friaries	Number of Indians	Number of Friars Serving Indians
Guadalajara...	700	5
Zacatécas.....	500	3
Nombre de Dios	300	1
Xuchipilan....	1,000	2
Etzatlán.....	1,000	2
Avacatlán.....	1,200	3
Xalisco.....	?	3
Autlán.....	1,000	1
Izatlán.....	1,500	2
Atoyac.....	1,600	2
Izaculco.....	1,000	2
Cocula.....	700	2
Tlaxumulco....	1,300	2
Axixic.....	1,000	1
	12,800*	31

*Excluding Xalisco.

to move the king to see the necessity of providing the friars with Indian interpreters and monitors as well as teachers of the elementary subjects in their schools. The friar-Indian ratio is too

¹Ibid.

²"Relacion que los Franciscanos de Guadalajara dieron de los conventos que tenía su orden, y de otros negocios generales de aquel reino--Guadalajara del Nuevo Reino de Galicia, November 8, 1567," Codice Franciscano, pp. 169, 166-176.

disproportionate for anyone to expect the religious to catechize, preach, administer the sacraments, and teach so large a number of Indians, not to include the Spaniards who also had to be cared for by the Franciscans in these parts. Many of the Indian masters, as we learn from the Tello chronicles, had their teacher-training apprenticeship under Friar Peter of Ghent and were sent out by him from Mexico City, but unlike their mentor, did not contribute their services, and apparently even wanted a raise in salary.¹

While many Indians whom the friars trained functioned as teachers in a goodly number of localities it cannot be said that this was a universal policy even in Xalisco province. The chronicler identifies a very large number of Spanish creole and other Franciscans who personally engaged in the office of teaching reading, writing, Christian doctrine, chant, embroidery, carpentry, cooking, architecture, horticulture, Latin, and instrumental music.² Some of those who functioned in this capacity before 1653 in the Xalisco province were:

1. Friar Daniel, an Italian lay-brother who had previously taught the fine art of embroidery under Ghent at Mexico City.
2. Father Juan de Villena.
3. Fray Esteban de Fuente Ovejuna.
4. Padre Bernardino de Baeza, an outstanding musician.
5. Padre Angel de Odesia.
6. Fray Alonso de Peraleja.
7. Padre Martin Lopez, a scholar of great repute in the Arts and Theology.
8. Lay-brother Francisco de Mofra, a native of Tescuco who trained Indian teachers of music and chant.
9. The lay-brother Juan de García.
10. Padre Francisco de Torre Blanca.
11. Fray Francisco Lopez de Parrilla.
12. Fray Blas de Santa Maria.
13. Lay-brother Juan Francisco, student under Ghent.
14. Fray Juan de Padilla, the first to teach in Acapponeto.
15. Padre Francisco Lorenzo.
16. Lay-brother Andrés de Cordoba.
17. Fray Antonio de Segovia.
18. Fray Martin de Jesus de Coruna.
19. Lay-brother Francisco de Pastrana.
20. Padre Francisco Lorenzo.
21. Padre Pedro de Almante, known for his knowledge of

¹ Fray Antonio Tello, O.F.M., Cronica miscelanea y conquista espiritual y temporal de la santa provincia de Xalisco en el nuevo reino de la Galicia y Nueva Vizcaya y descubrimiento de Nuevo Mexico, 1653. Edited at Guadalajara by José Lopez-Portillo y Rojas, 1891, pp. 38-39.

² Ibid., passim.

horticulture.

22. Fray Juan Pacheco.
23. Fray Bernard de Olmos.
24. Lay-brother Francisco de Patrana.
25. Fray Juan de San Miguel, a student of medicine.
26. Padre Simon de Bruselas, a German.
27. Fray Miguel de Bolonia.
28. Lay-brother Miguel de Estivades who conducted a boarding school at Ahuacatlan.
29. Fray Diego Perez who later went to Florida.
30. Fray Hernando Pobre.
31. Fray Antonio de Gudejaria.
32. Fray Pedro de Almonte.
33. Fray Pedro de Monte.
34. Fray Andres de Medina who with the preceding friar founded nine pueblos and taught the Indians carpentry, brick-laying, architecture, and the construction of adobe buildings in addition to the ordinary subjects of the schools.
35. Fray Andres de Ayala.
36. Fray Miguel de Herrera, for whom the Indians had deep affection.
37. Fray Antonio de Cuellar.
38. Fray Andres de Aldana.
39. Fray Antonio de Lañan.
40. Fray Francisco de Barrios.
41. Fray Miguel de Uranzu, who was a woodworker and taught Indians the construction of windows, the making of ropes, and the construction of adobe buildings.
42. Fray Antonio de Tello.
43. Fray Luis Navarro.

On June 6, 1550 the king sent an order to the Franciscan provincial at Xalisco that he should command his friars to teach Spanish to the Indians since his religious are ordinarily engaged in the instruction and conversion of the tribes of that territory, and can, therefore, better accomplish this task without losing the high regard in which they are held by the Indians.¹ What the motive behind this royal cedula was can be suspected in the later decrees of secularization when the regular clergy were succeeded against their will by diocesan or secular priests most of whom knew very little about the native idioms. Furthermore, few of the civil officials could converse directly with non-Spanish speaking Indian tribesmen.

The natives resisted the supplanting of their own language with the Spanish idiom and the Friars Minor for a long time sided with them. Other clergymen and the political leaders in New Spain encouraged Spanish because they were ignorant of the Indian dialects without which direct communication with the tribesmen was

¹Ibid., p. 545.

impossible. Hence, the individuals, including the Franciscans who had a speaking acquaintance with the Indian dialects, had the power controls, since the officials, who were ignorant of the native tongue, communicated with the natives through the friars. This explains, in part, why the friars were loathe to relinquish such an important pivot of influence without a struggle.

In due time, however, the king was induced to command that the Indians be taught Spanish to facilitate the propagation of religious knowledge and the inculcation of civic duties. Count Monterey replied by reciting the difficulties of the project, pointing out that money would be required to support the secular teachers of Spanish, or a royal command should force the religious to train indios ladinos, since they already had reading schools for them.¹

Guatemala

The present country of Guatemala, which is now regarded as part of Middle America rather than North America, seems to have been visited by Friars Minor as early as 1524.² It became a Franciscan custody under the jurisdiction of Mexico City in 1541 and was raised to the dignity of a full-fledged province in 1565. Vasquez speaks of the early fathers and brothers as stars which will shine for all eternity because they functioned as teachers.³

Around 1573 due, perhaps, to the entrance of the Jesuits into the educational fields in Guatemala or to strife in the mendicant ranks, Franciscans were leaving the country for other mission lands.⁴ The provincial, Fray Bernardino Perez, O.F.M., appealed to the king in the hope of warding off further decline, and secured the royal decree of August 11, 1573, in which the president

¹"Carta de Conde de Monte Rey a S.M. ... sobre las dificultades que an ympedido los maestros de la lengua castellana que Vuestra Magestad mando y lo que por acra se a echo en este," April 25, 1598, Mexico City. Bancroft Library transcript.

²Fray Francisco Vazquez, O.F.M., Crónica de la provincia de santísimo nombre de Jesus de Guatemala de la orden de n. serafico padre San Francisco en el reino de la Nueva España, 1714, MS 191 in Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, I, 13. Segunda edición, Lazaro Lamadrid, O.F.M. Guatemala, Centro America, Marzo de 1937.

³Ibid., p. 15.

⁴Ibid., p. 218.

and judges of the royal Audiencia in the city of Santiago in Guatemala were ordered to encourage and support the monasteries, especially those in the outlying districts, so that the religious might engage in the instructional activities which they had so successfully undertaken in other areas.¹ Another letter of his majesty, dated January 24, 1575, refers to the good example of the well-lettered friars who, knowing the native tongues, "render God and the king grand service by their teaching in the pueblos and their work in the doctrinas in which the king assists them financially."²

Despite disturbances, the province flourished to such an extent, that before 1600 there were at least twenty-four full-fledged guardianates, not including those of the daughter province of Santa Catarina de Honduras which became independent in 1594.³ Much of this success was due to the learning, prudence, and good administration of Friar Gonzalo Mendez, O.F.M., who, while teaching reading, writing, and chant to the Indians gave them opportunities for creative expression in song, dance, and drama, and thus learned the underlying psychology of their rites and customs. Those practices which were without sin, he allowed them to keep; others he revised according to need, but all of them he Christianized with diligence and expediency.⁴ In these activities he was aided by Fray Diego Ordóñez de Lara, O.F.M., a native of Guatemala, and the lay-brother Francisco de Valderas, O.F.M., who founded a reading and writing school for both native and Spanish children in the city of Vieja around 1560.⁵ Their example was followed in Nicaragua by Fray Pedro de Betanzos, O.F.M., who later established the Franciscan province of St. George in that country.⁶

At this point it seems apropos to report an attitude which was gaining momentum among the friars of America and which threatened the permanence and stability of Franciscan collective endeavors. Padre Alonso de Escalona, O.F.M., an influential leader and provincial superior from the "recollect" province in Spain, who

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 228. Another letter of the same kind was sent on February 4, 1583, ibid., pp. 248-249.

³Ibid., pp. 278, 317-318.

⁴Ibid., II, 27-28.

⁵Ibid., p. 155.

⁶Ibid., p. 172.

had conducted an elementary school for six hundred children in Tlaxcala while in the Holy Gospel province's territory, seemed to be under the spell and fascination of the spiritualist retiro reform movement which was affecting Franciscan convents in sixteenth century Italy and Spain.¹ This spiritual individualism which St. Bonaventure opposed in the thirteenth century, Escalona attempted with the aid of eight priests and four lay-brothers to introduce into Guatemala. Bonaventure's administration had sought to organize the followers of St. Francis into large "scholarly communities prepared for evangelical mobilization without the destruction of individual sanctification."² The "recollect" missionaries in New Spain inculcated the contrary ideology, namely, that the friars should not remain settled with the Spanish civilians in the cities, nor with the civilized Indians in the pueblos, but should move on with the conquerors, always surging forward, having no place to call home; apostolic, strict, abstemious, barefoot, and hatless, they should go out into the wilds to teach and convert the Indians.³

It is easy to see that such "recollect" ideas would threaten the permanence of formal educational institutions in any locality, so that the Franciscan schools, at least as far as mass education was concerned, were only frontier and pioneer in character, disappearing from the scene or changing administrative hands when the old Indian social order had been consolidated with the Spanish Christian tradition. Similar Franciscan institutions would then appear on new frontiers. This factor, as well as the decline of the Spanish colonial power, and the increasing amount of secularization, certainly explain many of the vacillating though rhythmic movements of Franciscan educational activity in Spanish North America.

The chroniclers frequently mention the fact that some friar transferred to a new region more frontier in character, and thus indicate that the Spanish "recollect" idea must have taken root. Thus, we are told that the ingenious Friar Francisco de la

¹Ibid., p. 185.

²Ibid.: "comunidades estudiosas y preparadas para movilizarse en la evangelización sin descuidar la santificación individual."

³Ibid.

Parra transferred from the province of St. James in Xalisco to Guatemala, and that the lay-brother Juan de Herrera transferred from Xalisco to Guatemala, and thence to Yucatan.¹

The education provided in the school at Almolonga, conducted by Brother Francisco de Santa Marta, was definitely compulsory in character.² All the boys and young men had to master the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, reading, and writing; the lay-brother was assisted by the constable of the town, Alvaro de Paz. It must have been a very good school, since as Vazquez relates, its clientele was not limited to poor little Indians (pobrecitos ... indicitos), but included mestizos and some Spanish boys who received their foundation in good manners and letters there.³ At this same school an Indian boy named Juan, through his behavior and thirst for knowledge, got into the good graces of his teacher; he had already mastered the Christian doctrine, read and wrote with facility, but he also wanted to learn Latin and chant, so that he could say the divine office like a friar. His teacher taught him Latin privately; he soon wrote his own Latin book and handled both missal and breviary with ease. This special tutoring of an able Indian lad showed solicitude for the education of native leaders; furthermore, in his case a very rare exception was made by the provincial when he allowed Juan to be invested with the Franciscan habit.⁴

The school conducted by Brother Juan de Herrera was known for the fine public scribes it graduated, while Padre Juan Alonso guided many a young hand in painting and sculpturing images of the saints.⁵ Two other lay-brothers, Fray Jeronimo de Viera and Fray Juan de Espinosa (who later was ordained priest and became bishop of Santiago in Chile) distinguished themselves in school-work among the Guatemalans. But not every aspect of Herrera's school deserves commendation. His toleration of the denunciation of idolatrous parents by their own children, because of the latter's implicit confidence in the brothers, is educationally questionable, though the chronicler thinks it a fine example of the wholehearted acceptance of the new order through Franciscan teaching,

¹Ibid., pp. 216, 235.

²Ibid., p. 222.

³Ibid., pp. 237-238.

⁴Ibid., pp. 222-223.

⁵Ibid., pp. 228-229.

since these children would tattle about idols worshipped by their own flesh and blood.¹

Many hired clerks and serfs under forty years of age (mancebos) even though of Spanish parentage, or of the half-blood, were educationally helped by the Guatemalan friars. Some of these entered the Franciscan Order, or sought civilian office, and thus came to the friars for Latin and grammar, since, as one of them remarked, there were no advanced public schools in Ciudad Real de Chiapa like the Franciscans had in the Ciudad de Guatemala, where the friars conducted better studies in secular branches than were afforded even to the Spanish princes.²

Under the initial leadership of Padre Gonzalo Mendez formal Franciscan education prospered for one hundred and fifty years, operating gradually but persistently for the remolding of the social order not in Guatemala alone, but also in the provinces of Honduras, Cuscutlan, and Chiapa.³

Southeastern United States

The southeastern coastal states extending almost as far west as present Texas and as far north as Virginia were known in Franciscan Spanish days as "La Florida." They had been visited and explored since the 1513 Ponce de Leon expedition, but no permanent settlement was made until 1565 when Menendez founded San Agustin, the oldest city for whites within the present limits of the United States.⁴ In his contract with Pedro Menendez de Avilez, done in Madrid on March 20, 1565, the king ordered him to include in his party at least ten or twelve religious chosen from the order he considered best, so that religious instruction might be given and the Indians be converted.⁵ Menendez selected the Franciscans who, for unknown reasons, did not enter Florida until 1573, a year after the Jesuits departed thence for Mexico.⁶ The Dominicans had also worked there earlier with individuals of many

¹Ibid., p. 236. ²Ibid., p. 248. ³Ibid., p. 323.

⁴Los cumpleaños de San Agustin, p. 12. Privately printed at St. Augustine, Florida, 1940.

⁵"Capitulacion y asiento," ibid., p. 11.

⁶The Florida State Planning Board, The Spanish Missions of Florida, p. 31. W.P.A. Florida Writers Project, 1940.

orders including the first bishop-elect to set foot on United States territory, Juan Suarez, O.F.M. This Franciscan prelate accompanied the Narvaez expedition in 1528.¹

But it was a Dominican bishop, Don Juan de las Cavezas de Altamirano, who conducted the first episcopal visitation, the records of which reveal highly significant educational activities of the Friars Minor in San Agustin during the years of the Franciscan era which Geiger has called "golden."² Altamirano's visitation took place in 1606, but before discussing Franciscan education among the white creole population, recognition should be paid to instructional activities of the friars among the Indian tribes. Padre Bartolomé Romero, O.F.M., worked for more than twenty years among the Tarchuas teaching these Indians with great charity, organizing them into pueblos that they might know, not only the faith, but also human policies and progress, supervising construction work and the teaching of agriculture and cattle-breeding.³

Padre Diego Rodriquez, O.F.M., dispensed spiritual and material blessings to the Amacanas and the Cotacochmos and showed them various mechanical arts, since, on the whole, he found them quite intelligent.⁴ The Timucana language was best mastered by the Franciscan Pareja, who translated Spanish books into that idiom and composed a primer for the girls and boys of the tribe; with its help they learned to read and thus his confreres likewise mastered the language.⁵

As the Florida territory expanded northward through present Georgia and the Carolinas and even into Virginia, the padres founded doctrinas mainly, of course, for the teaching of reli-

¹Ibid., p. 2.

²Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618), pp. 206 et seq. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1937.

³Fr. Franciscus de Ocaña, O.F.M., "Relación acerca del presente feliz estado de las Indias occidentales en la apostolica administracion de los santos sacramentos y combercion de los Indios par los religiosos de nuestro seraphico padre San Francisco. ... hasta el año de 1635." MS No. 3560 in Codice latino, Barberini, Vatican Library; first published by Fr. Joseph Póu y Martí, O.F.M., in Archivo-Ibero-Americana, XXVIII, 90. Madrid.

⁴De Ocaña, op. cit., p. 91.

⁵Ibid., p. 87.

gion.¹ We get a glimpse of their schools from a quaint little volume published at Philadelphia in 1699.² Jonathan Dickenson, a Quaker preacher, sailed with a small party from Port Royal in Jamaica hoping to preach the Gospel in Pennsylvania. His little ship, "Reformation," was wrecked on the northeast coast of Florida and the party had to continue their trip on land. The Reverend Dickenson kept a very good journal of his adventures among the Spanish settlers between St. Augustine and the Carolinas which the Spaniards had dedicated to St. George. He writes of the architecture of the mission houses with "three bells," such as "St. Cruce," of the Spanish-speaking Indians, and of the school at "St. Wans" (San Juan) where the "fryer" gave his wife bread made of Indian corn, probably tortillas.³ At St. Mary's he comments: "The Indian boys we saw were kept to School in the Church, the Fryer being their Schoolmaster."⁴

The Spanish Franciscans were thus quite busily engaged with Indian education for more than one hundred and sixty years before General Oglethorpe laid siege to St. Augustine in 1740. There were many hardships to be borne, because the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 had forced Spain to economize in colonial support and royal patronage in which the Florida friars shared.

Though most of the schools founded and conducted by the Franciscans in Spanish North America had as their objective the induction of the Indians into the European Catholic social order, the Friars Minor were opportunists in promoting the cause, to which they gave their lives, also among non-Indians. Thus, a year before the founding of Jamestown (1607) and some thirty years prior to the definite establishment of a school in English North America, the Franciscans also had a flourishing school for white creoles (native-born children of Spanish-born parents) in St. Augustine, Florida.⁵

¹John Tate Lanning, The Spanish Missions of Georgia, pp. 59-81. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

²Jonathan Dickenson, God's Protecting Providence, Man's Surest Help and Defense. Philadelphia, 1699.

³Ibid., p. 83.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Juan de las Cabezas de Altamirano, O.P., "Carta del obispo

The Dominican auxiliary bishop of Havana, Juan de Las Cabezas de Altamirano, had made a confirmation tour and conducted the first known episcopal visitation in "La Florida." He left Santiago, Cuba, on October 10, 1605, sailed from the port of Yguey, on February 25, 1606, and reached St. Augustine, March 15, 1606. The report of the bishop's notary indicates the number of confirmations in various localities of the diocese.¹ The following table is constructed from these data:

Locality	Confirmations	
	Number of Spaniards or Creoles	Number of Indians
San Agustin...	350	?
Nombre de Dios	20	213
San Pedro.....	?	308
Talaje.....	?	262
Espogache.....	?	208
Guale.....	?	286
San Juan.....	?	482
Tocoy (Potano)	?	90
Antonico.....	?	225
	370	2,074

These figures, though accurate as regards the number of persons under confirmation instruction, are not to be considered complete figures of the total population, nor of the total number of Christians, even for the respective places mentioned, much less for the whole of then inhabited Florida. Thus Davila reports on Nombre de Dios, which was about one-half league from San

de Cuba para su magestad," St. Augustine, Florida, June 24; 1606, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, 54-311, Simancas, Ecclesiastico, Audiencia de Santo Domingo. As edited by Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., printed in the Catholic Historical Review, II (1917), 450-459.

¹Diego Davila, "Relacion presentada a s.m. en su consejo de Indias, de la visita pastoral que hizo a las provincias de la Florida el obispo de Cuba 26 de junio, 1606," Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Est. 54-5-20, Simancas, Ecclesiastico, Audiencia de Sto. Domingo. Cartas y expedientes de personas eclesiasticas de la Florida vistas en el consejo desde el ano de 1573 a 1700. As photostated from the Woodbury Lowery Papers, MSS Florida, 1605-1607, Vol. V, "The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States," in the Department of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Agustin, states that the Indian cacica Doña Maria, who had married a Spanish soldier, had over 3,000 Indian subjects not all of whom were Christian.¹ She and her two sons were among the 213 confirmed; Padre Romero, O.F.M., was the priest in charge. In San Pedro where Fray Juan Bautista de Capilla, O.F.M., was stationed, another son of Doña Maria and three caciques from neighboring pueblos were among the 308 confirmed by the bishop, while Fray Diego Delgado, O.F.M., likewise presented several caciques from his neighborhood of Talaje and Espogache for the sacrament. It seems that the bishop did not get to the outlying pueblos, but that the pueblo leaders at least, were brought in to the main churches. This was done at Guale by Fray Pedro de Ruiz, O.F.M., and at San Juan through Padre Francisco Pareja, O.F.M., but the influence of Doña Maria of San Pedro to whom it seems most of the tribes were subject was perhaps most significant. Davila concluded his report by stating that the Indians of these regions who were very poor and needy, are cared for by the Franciscan friars and that the bishop had to cease confirming because of transportation arrangements, and because he wanted to visit the Franciscan friary (probably at St. Augustine) to iron out certain misunderstandings the friars had with the governor, Pedro de Ybarra.² The governor, in a letter of January 4, 1606, defended himself against the king's charge that he lacked enterprise, by stating that, since his coming, 2,000 Christians were added to the 4,000 Christian souls then in Florida.³ Three months later, the governor attacked the Franciscans, whom he probably suspected as the instigators of the king's accusation, and countercharged them and the king with sending inexperienced youths to his colony asserting that the Franciscan Aragonese Celaya exerted a bad influence because he was so young.⁴ Contradicting himself, Ybarra

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³"Carta de Pedro de Ybarra," St. Augustine, January 4, 1606, Archivo General de Indias, Simancas, Seculares, Audiencia de Sto Domingo, Cartas y expedientes de gobernadores de la Florida vistos en el consejo desde el año de 1568 á 1611. Est. 54, caj. 5, leg. 9. Photostated from Woodbury Lowery Papers, MSS Florida, 1603-1607, Vol. V, "The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States," in the Department of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁴"Carta de Pedro Ybarra desde S. Agustin de la Florida, abril ocho de 1606," ibid.

wrote another letter on September 4, 1606 to the effect that he sent the Aragonese friar back to the commissary general in Spain before he had time to stir up trouble.¹

The dissension was probably healed by Bishop Altamirano, who at the same time praised the padres for educating the creoles² of San Agustin "with much control." Yet, he suggests that the king should pay for a native public schoolmaster, ostensibly to save the expense of importing Franciscans from Spain as teachers and because native teachers were also much "sought after by the Indians." The bishop's statement of June 24, 1606 which establishes this Franciscan institution of learning as the earliest known school for whites within the present area of the United States is translated as follows:

It behooves your majesty to give alms for the creoles who are being educated here, for it is certain that they are very intelligent and the fathers educate them with much control. It is necessary to issue a decree that there be a public schoolmaster here because in this way your majesty would save the expense of bringing religious from Spain and the missions would be ministered to by such as had been educated at the king's expense, aside from the fact that such are greatly sought after by the Indians for the reason that they are natives of these parts and are educated with them.³

Prior to this recommendation the bishop mentions two secular priests, Vincent Ferrer de Andrade, pastor of St. Augustine, and his curate Manuel Gudino whom, incidentally, he had appointed to care for the soldiers of the fort and "to teach the many children of the settlers who are here in St. Augustine."⁴ Both these secular priests became Franciscans on September 8, 1607, as seems to have been quite a common practice in the custody of St. Helena which, increasing in numbers, was erected into the first Franciscan province within the present limits of the United States in 1612.⁵ St. Helena was the present Port Royal, South Carolina.

Therefore, it must be admitted, as Steck logically argues,

¹"Carta de Pedro Ybarra . . .," September 4, 1606, ibid.

²White native children of Spanish-born parents.

³Juan de las Cabezas de Altamirano, O.P., "Carta . . . para su magestad," St. Augustine, Florida, June 24, 1606, loc. cit., p. 457.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Los cumpleaños de San Agustin, op. cit., pp. 20, 35.

that a school for whites existed in St. Augustine, Florida, before the Dominican bishop's arrival in 1606, and that it was producing good results under Franciscan direction and personal instruction.¹ The term "padres" (religious priests) is used rather than the word clerigos (secular priests). At that time, according to Steck, the only religious priests in Florida were Franciscans.² Ocaña wrote of a school in San Agustín in 1602.³

Whatever happened to the plan to enlarge the scope of the school and turn it over to a public schoolmaster paid by the king is not known, but native creole clergy, including Franciscans, were being ordained in Florida within the following decades.⁴ It seems certain that already in 1606 Bishop Altamirano, while visiting Florida, ordained twenty candidates for the priesthood, some of whom were educated in the Franciscan friary at St. Augustine.⁵ Fray Oré, who visited the province in 1614 and 1616, and Bishop Calderon, who made his visitation in 1674, relate very little about the formal educational activities of the friars.⁶

We receive further information about Franciscan education in Florida from the Index of Royal Cédulas in the Webb Memorial

¹Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., "The First School in the United States," The Fortnightly Review, XXXVIII (January, 1931), 3-4. St. Louis, Missouri.

²Ibid.; also, Joseph B. Lockey, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, XV (January, 1937), 147-168. St. Augustine, Florida.

³Franciscus de Ocaña, O.F.M., "Relación acerca del presente feliz estado de las Indias Occidentales en la apostolica administración de los santos sacramentos y comberción de los Indios por los religiosos de nuestro seraphico padre San Francisco. Hasta el año de 1635." No. 3560 in Cod. lat. Barberini, Vatican Library. First published by Fr. Joseph Póu y Martí in Archivo-Ibero-Americano, XXVIII, 85-86. Madrid, 1914.

⁴Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Biographical Dictionary of Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841). Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1940; Los Cumpleaños, op. cit., p. 35.

⁵"Relacion presentada a su magestad en su consejo de Indias, 26 de junio de 1606," Archivo General de Indias, section V, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, leg. 235. Cited in Lanning, Spanish Missions, p. 152.

⁶Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Franciscan Conquest of Florida, pp. 257-264, 267.

Library.¹ There were missions and doctrinas along four hundred miles of the Atlantic Coast line (Florida, Georgia, South Carolina), administered from St. Catherine's Island, Franciscan provincial headquarters.² In 1650 there were only fifty Franciscan priests, excluding novices and attachés, to care for fifty missions and numerous stations with 25,000 Indian converts, but the work received government assistance since the Spanish crown had pledged the papacy it would underwrite these Franciscan projects.³ Hence, there was a difference between the Florida and Mexican plans of support: in Mexico the friars were obliged to the poverty of their rule which excluded regular allotments, while in Florida they were included in the dotacion of the patronato real.⁴

This accounts, perhaps, for the employment of Franciscans in the administration of creole parishes, garrisons, and reading and writing schools which were thus supported, and for the extensiveness of their work among the Indians in spite of their small numbers.⁵ In 1693 one of the religious in the Franciscan convent of St. Augustine was designated to teach the children of the residents and soldiers while the others were occupied in the outlying centers of conversion (doctrinas) and in the mission schools where catechism, reading, and the rudiments of Spanish were taught.⁶ Again, in 1721, that same Franciscan convent (at present remodelled as a military barracks building on the corner of St. Francis and

¹Index to Royal Cedulas. Translation by E. W. Lawson, 1938. Webb Memorial Library, St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, St. Augustine, Florida.

²Geiger, Franciscan Conquest of Florida, p. 195.

³Verne E. Chatelain, The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565-1763, Publication 511, p. 25. Carnegie Institute of Washington, Washington, D.C.

⁴Ibid., p. 24.

⁵Geiger, The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, pp. 252-253: "De Montiano to the King," June 12, 1738; "De Benavides to the King," September 22, 1727 in Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia S. Domingo: 58-1-31, 1726-1739, MSS Florida--Governors' Letters to the King. Cunningham transcripts, Department of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁶Index of Royal Cedulas, 1693. Photostat 990-15, File 8. Also 1703 translation by E. W. Lawson, 1938. Webb Memorial Library, St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, St. Augustine, Florida.

Charlotte Streets in St. Augustine) is mentioned as a school where "the novices are instructed in grammar."¹ The writer was able to find only the Index to these cédulas; the royal decrees themselves which should contain further information on these schools are probably in some Spanish or Cuban archive. Shea, however, mentions a classical school opened in St. Augustine (its population was 1,504) in 1736 by the first resident Franciscan bishop, Francis de San Buenaventura Tejada (1735-1745).² He quotes from several letters of Tejada to the king telling his majesty of the clerics whom he trained to serve in the sanctuary and to whom he gave the habit.³ In his letter to Governor Justiz, the bishop declares that his classical school is the only one in Florida, all the rest having been closed since the English invasion.⁴

According to a 1753 manuscript preserved in the John Carter Brown Library the Friars Minor still had a school at St. Augustine during that year.⁵ It includes regulations for religious teachers in the convent of that presidio and assigns salaries of two hundred pesos annually to the Reverend Father Guardian (the distinctive name of Franciscan superiors in organized convents) and to each of the five religious priests and three religious lay-brothers. One of these lay-brothers "who will have to have the necessary qualifications" was "to teach the children Christian doctrine, reading, and writing."⁶ Two religious teachers, receiving the same salary, were to care for the Indian settlements of Tolomata and Punta. In the year 1756 Father Francisco Gomez, O.F.M., who

¹Ibid., 1721. Photostat 990-28.

²John Gilmary Shea, The Catholic Church in the United States, Vol. I, The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, pp. 469-470. New York, 1886-1892.

³"Letters of Bishop Tejada to the King," April 29, August 31, 1736, ibid.

⁴"Letter of Bishop Tejada to Governor Justiz," November 14, 1737, ibid.

⁵"Reglamento para las peculiares obligaciones de el presidio de San Agustin de la Florida," Mexico, April 8, 1753, Regulations for Religious Teachers, fol. 362 (v.) 6. MSS of Vice-Royal Papers in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

⁶Ibid.

is mentioned by Geiger¹ as being in Florida already, six years previously, was appointed Master Teacher in the jurisdiction of Florida.²

Florida's educational activities, therefore, were, as the sources would indicate, in Franciscan hands from 1573 until 1763 when the first Spanish period ended. The English had captured the city of Havana in 1762, and, in order to recover that city, exchanged the entire province of Florida for its possession. The British held the peninsula till 1783 but because of their defeat by the colonial United States, returned Florida to Spain which sold it to the United States in 1821. The records are silent on any Franciscan educational activities during the second Spanish period.

New Mexico

Whether General Francisco Vazquez Coronado or Fray Marcos de Niza, O.F.M., is to be credited with the discovery of New Mexico and the establishment of the Zuni pueblo there, in 1539 or 1540, is irrelevant to this thesis on Franciscan education. There were some five Franciscans and four hundred soldiers with Niza and Coronado in 1540; later Fray Juan de Padilla, O.F.M., penetrated into the present state of Kansas while other friars went on missions of recognizance and discovery with Don Juan de Oñate in 1598. We are here interested only in their formal educational activities, which can be learned best from the first custos of New Mexico, Fray Alonso de Beñavides, O.F.M., who wrote two memoirs of his visitation, one in 1630 which was translated and privately printed by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer in 1916, and the thus far unpublished memorial of 1634.³

The Beñavides reports are very colorful and seem to stamp the author as a good promoter and campaigner; in fact, he departed

¹Geiger, Biographical Dictionary, p. 58.

²Index of Royal Cedulae, op. cit., 1756.

³Fray Alonso de Beñavides, O.F.M., "Memorial a la sanctidad de urbano 8 n'ro señor acerca de las conversiones del Nuevo Mexico hechos en el feliciss'o tpo del gobierno d su pontificado," 12 Feb., 1634, Archivo di propaganda fide, Roma, Vol. CCLIX. Photographed by Lansing Bloom. Translated by Hammond. Courtesy of the Santa Fé Historical Society and the University of New Mexico.

for Goa to become auxiliary bishop there, February 11, 1636.¹ Whatever his exaggerations on educational matters are, they cannot be excessive because the existence of reading, writing, and grammar schools is confirmed by the Salmeron reports.² In the 1634 report which very closely approximates that of 1630, Beñavides alludes to the teaching of reading by Fray Agustin Rodriguez and the conduct of industrial schools and shops by the friars as early as 1581. He takes up the work of the fathers and brothers in each pueblo and among each nation, showing the gradual change effected in the social order. Thus he writes of west central New Mexico:

Father (Francisco de Escobar) was the right man for those conversions, because, besides teaching Christian doctrine by his excellent example, he also taught the Indians to make musical instruments and how to play them, with which they now celebrate the divine service with great solemnity³

The friars brought master craftsmen to the Peccos nation to teach the Indians carpentry, and in the villa of Santa Fé "the children were well instructed."⁴

In the Teoas province where Friar Andrés Bautista had the care of 6,000 baptized natives dwelling in eight pueblos, the Indians were taught irrigation along with the other crafts and arts regularly offered in the schools of the Hemes and Picuries nations.⁵ Concerning the nation of Teoas, Beñavides tells the Pope:

They have schools where they learn to read, write, and sing, thanks to the great devotion of the friars and the bodily risks which they have endured to bring them to this state of perfection, for the fathers are great ministers and masters of the languages of that nation⁶

¹"Campeggi (?) to Cardinal Berberino in regard to Beñavides departure for Goa to become Auxiliary Bishop, Feb. 11, 1636," Archivio di propaganda fide, Vol. CXXXV, fol. 216 (new).

²Fray Geronimo de Zarate Salmerón, O.F.M., "Relaciones del Nuevo Mexico," 1538-1626, 96 fols., Archivo General de Mexico, *Historia*, Vol. II. Dunn transcript, Catholic Archives of Texas, St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas.

³Beñavides, *op. cit.*, fol. 251 (v.).

⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 237 (v.).

⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 238 (v.), fol. 239 (r.).

⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 236 (v.).

He informs the Holy Father of Fray Cristóbal de Quiros ministrations to the Queres people:

He has taught and trained these Indians well, not only in the things pertaining to our holy Catholic faith but in the ways of civilization such as reading, writing, and singing as well as playing all kinds of musical instruments. He has them in a very docile mood¹

The Indians, according to Beñavides, led quite a community life, learning the new ways of civilization by living them. Some twenty Indians in each community helped the friars with the new tribes, interpreting and teaching them domestic habits, until the fathers, having learned the new language, could teach the natives in their own tongue the rudiments of Christian doctrine and the fundamentals of written communication.²

Father Tomás Carrasco, who, according to the custodian of New Mexico, began his work among the Taos in 1627

. . . . taught in its schools the same subjects as elsewhere.
. . . . Most outstanding in this pueblo is the marvellous choir of wonderful boy musicians, whose voices the friar chose from among more than a thousand who attended the schools of Christian teaching³

The 1634 report also has an interesting statement about the schools in historic Santa Fé; Friar Pedro de Ortega had been guardian for two years in the villa of Santa Fé where, writes the custos:

. . . . he maintained a general school for teaching reading, writing, singing, the playing of all kinds of instruments and other matters. Here he taught the Spanish and Indian boys so effectively that, with their organ chants, they enhanced the divine service with great solemnity⁴

There were, according to the 1634 memorial submitted to the Holy See, 500,000 souls converted in New Mexico, a region where only the Franciscan Order was then active, and ". . . in every pueblo where a friar resides, he has schools for the teaching of praying, singing, playing musical instruments and other interesting things."⁵ It is not improbable that among the "other interesting things" painting is to be included since this was taught in other

¹Ibid., fol. 236 (r.).

²Ibid., fol. 250 (v.).

³Ibid., fol. 239 (r.).

⁴Ibid., fol. 249 (v.).

⁵Ibid., fol. 249 (v.), 250 (r.).

areas. Furthermore, the primitive panels or santos in the reproduction on the following page were probably executed by the Indians of New Mexico between 1630 and 1650, according to the Hispanic Society of America in whose New York museum the originals are preserved.¹ The panels represent from top down and left to right: the "Sorrowful Mother," "Our Lady of Mount Carmel," the Franciscan "St. Anthony of Padua with the Christ Child," "St. Francis of Assisi," the "Crucifixion," another "Crucifixion," "St. Joseph and the Christ Child," the "Sorrowful Mother," "Our Lady of Guadalupe," and another "St. Anthony with the Christ Child." Though it cannot be stated with certainty that the friars taught the Indians to paint these images in New Mexico, one can conclude without contradiction that the subject matter was certainly inspired by Franciscan education. These santos reflect Byzantine influence.

The Franciscan schools of New Mexico apparently declined in the eighteenth century since not much is mentioned about reading and writing; there were, however, many doctrinas and religious schools of Christian doctrine.²

Some of the Hackett transcripts of cédulas relating to Texas and the northern provinces of New Spain such as New Mexico, Coahuila, and Nueva Leon show that the teaching of Christian doctrine between the years 1631 and 1793 was closely integrated with the divine worship, thus making it meaningful for more abundant living.³ The Salmeron reports, to which reference has already been made, show that, because of their educational interests in the Indian youth of New Mexico, the friars were able to do much more with the natives than were the Spanish soldiers.⁴ There is

¹"Santos of New Mexico," Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America, Broadway and 155th Streets, New York City, N.Y.

²Fray Juan Alvarez, O.F.M., "Petitions for Support of Poor Missions in New Mexico," Provincias Internas, Tomo XXXVI, January 7-12, 1706. Archivo-General Transcription in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

³"Compilation of Cédulas Relating to Texas and the Northern Provinces of New Spain (1631-1793)," Hackett transcripts, Archivo General de Mexico, Historia, Vol. CCCXXI, fols. 50-52, 72-73, 291-293. Catholic Archives of Texas, St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas.

⁴Salmeron, op. cit., fol. 14.



Fig. 13.--Ten panels probably painted by the Indians of New Mexico in the seventeenth century. (Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America.)

at least one instance on record where grammar was taught in addition to the ordinary New Mexico curriculum; the teacher was Padre Fray Simon de Jesus.¹

Texas

The pueblo Indians of New Mexico because of their settled condition could be given a broader educational basic curriculum than those of Texas, who first had to be gathered into settlements and held there until the project could be permanent. During the Franciscan period of about one hundred years (1690-1793), emphasis seems to have been placed on those vocational subjects and practical trades which would be most helpful in building the physical aspects of a civilized community. Pottery, carpentry, masonry, the making of shoes, hats, clothes, soap and candles, the tanning of hides, spinning, blacksmithing, and the planting of crops were taught directly or vicariously by the friars even to the time of secularization (the coming of secular or diocesan priests) on January 2, 1793.² The existence of catechisms and primers of Christian doctrine show, however, that the elements of religion received formal attention and that some reading must have been taught.³ Reasons why the twenty-five or more missions of Texas were not formally education-minded might be found in the fact that Texas was a buffer colony between New Spain and New France at a time when the failing Spanish monarchy was growing helpless; the Indians were more difficult to handle and were apparently less intelligent than their neighbors.⁴

Upper California

According to a manuscript report in the Latin American Collection of the University of Texas, there were daily classes in Christian doctrine in each of nineteen missions of New Cali-

¹Ibid., fol. 147.

²Thomas P. O'Rourke, Franciscan Missions in Texas (1690-1793), p. 89. Washington, D.C., 1927.

³Bartholomé García, O.F.M., Manual para administrar los santos sacramentos. Mexico: Imprenta de los herederos de Doña María de Rivera, 1760. Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.

⁴Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1883.

fornia during the year 1806.¹ This same document gives us some unusually valuable statistics on personnel and mission population, while a manuscript of the Bancroft Collection tells us something about the number of languages spoken in each of these missions.²

Mission	Year of Foundation	Number of Friars in 1806	Indian Population in 1806	Number of Languages
San Diego.....	1769	2	1,486	1
San Luis Rey.....	1798	2	961	1
San Juan Capistrano.	1776	2	1,062	?
San Gabriel.....	1771	2	1,052	4
San Fernando.....	1797	2	955	3
San Buenaventura....	1782	2	1,159	?
Santa Barbara.....	1786	2	1,603	?
Santa Ines.....	1804	2	570	?
Puris'a Concepcion..	1787	2	1,166	?
San Luis Obispo.....	1772	2	830	15
San Miguel.....	1797	2	949	4
San Antonio.....	1771	2	1,217	2
N.S. de la Soledad..	1791	2	679	?
San Carlos (Carmelo)	1770	2	550	1*
San Juan Bautista...	1797	2	1,068	1
Santa Cruz.....	1791	2	466	?
Santa Clara.....	1777	2	1,406	3
San Jose.....	1797	2	662	?
N.P. San Francisco..	1776	2	886	5
(Dolores)		38	18,727	?
San Rafael.....	1817			
San Francisco Sol...	1824			

*Seven tribes.

Because of language difficulties interpreters were frequently used until Spanish was adopted. Industrial and agricul-

¹Fray Estevan Tapis, O.F.M., "Misiones de la Nueva California," Noticias de S. Fernando, Monterey, California, March 13, 1807. MS No. 85 (Castañeda), University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas.

²"Contestacion al interrogatorio del año de 1811 por el presidente de las misiones de esta Alta California." MS in Bancroft Library, University of California taken from Archives of Mission Santa Barbara, Misc. Papers, beginning at p. 112. Published by A. L. Kroeber, A Mission Record of Cal. Indians, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1908.

tural education for these "digger" Indians fitted them for a practical life in the new social order while instruction in Christian doctrine and the chants of the church, together with religious instrumental music, adjusted them to participation in the worship and life of a real Catholic community. Engelhardt seems to rationalize on the absence of formal reading and writing schools by declaring that the friars came as missionaries.¹ So did Ghent and the friars in Mexico and Florida, the West Indies, and New Mexico. The California missionaries were probably as interested in using educational means to make the acceptance of the Christian social order permanent by giving the natives not merely the understandings and appreciations of their faith, but also the civilized means of communicating it to others, of reading the Sacred Scriptures and providing liturgical music experiences for a more abundant life,² as well as pursuing the cultivation of the entire man in as far as these natives were able. But, as Engelhardt admits, in his monumental works on the California missions, these natives "loathed mental exertion even more than manual labor," and again,

. . . . the habits of the Californians were scarcely above those of the lowest wild beasts the savages had first of all to be taught that they were incomparably superior to brutes; they had to be shown how to live worthy of human beings; and they had to be led to see that they were amenable to both human and divine laws³

Father Engelhardt's vitriolic criticism of the proponents of education in missionary projects can be understood when we realize the vast ability differentials between the "diggers" of California on the one hand, and the Aztecs of Mexico and Mayas of Yucatan, on the other. He defends the absence of secular education in the California missions but he forgets that this absence was an exception to the general Franciscan policy in Spanish North America, because as the venerable historian says in another place,

. . . . education must be adapted to the condition and prospects of the pupil. The California friars knew very well that a knowledge of reading and writing could render great assist-

¹Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., Missions and Missionsaries of California, II, 242. San Francisco, 1912.

²Owen Francis da Silva, O.F.M., Mission Music of California. Los Angeles, California; Warren F. Lewis, 1941.

³Engelhardt, op. cit., II, 243-244.

Fig. 14.--Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M. (1713-1784), most famous alumnus of San Fernando College and founder of the California missions. (From photograph taken in Statuary Hall, Washington, D.C.)



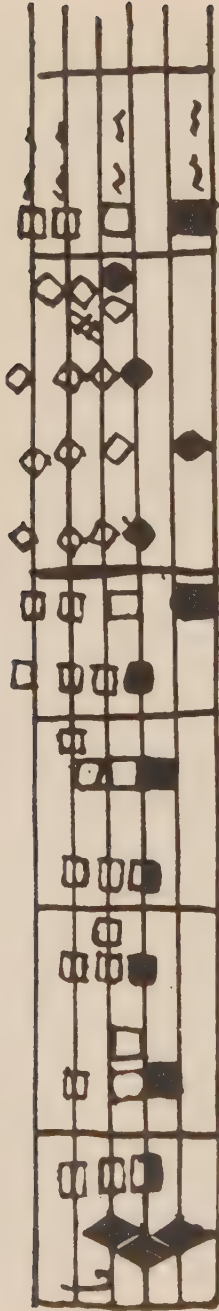
Fig. 15.--Map of Franciscan establishments in New (upper) and Old (lower) California, as sketched by Fray Francisco Palou, O.F.M. (circa 1784).



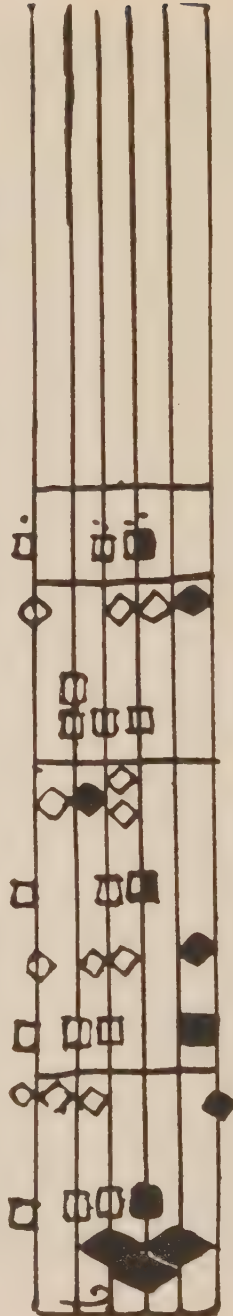
Fig. 10.--Samples of liturgical and choral books used in the California missions. Many of the missions and their properties have been returned to the Friars Minor through the beneficence of Abraham Lincoln and the Catholic Bishops of California. (Courtesy, San Luis Rey Mission, San Luis Rey, California.)

The image displays two pages of a musical manuscript, folios 32 and 33, featuring Gregorian chant notation. The notation consists of square neumes written on four-line red staves. The Latin text is written in a Gothic script below the staves. The manuscript is bound in parchment, and the text is written in a single column per page. The notation is a form of square neumes, and the text is in Latin, likely a liturgical text. The manuscript is identified as folios 32 and 33 of Gregorian chant liturgical compositions for Indian adults of Mission Soledad, California, from the eighteenth century.

Fig. 17.--Parchment folios 32 and 33 of Gregorian chant liturgical compositions for Indian adults of Mission Soledad, California. Eighteenth century. Notation is that of Fr. Miguel Pellechía, O.F.M., graduate of the Guadalupe Mission College at Zacatécas. (Courtesy, University of California.)



San-to Dios San-to Fuerte Santo in mortal



Li-bran-se-ñor-de to-do mal

Fig. 18.--Polyphonic music based on Gregorian chant theme. To differentiate the four voices a color scheme was used: yellow, red, white, black. Instrumental music usually accompanied the singing. (After Engelhardt.)

ance in acquiring a deeper knowledge of Christian truths; but understanding the mind and capacity of their neophytes, the missionaries refrained from pressing the task upon any of them save those who were found willing. . . . Hence, it was that the missionaries offered the opportunity to read and write only to such boys as manifested a desire and aptitude to learn, whereas they insisted on manual labor for all without exception.¹

The reasons for the lack of compulsory reading and writing schools include lack of personnel, especially of lay-brothers, difficulty in procuring instructional materials from Mexico, failure of the government to support such educational projects, and, especially, lack of native ability and the need for manual laborers in a frontier setting. Most of these reasons are admitted by Engelhardt.² These factors explain why the royal decree of 1793 demanding that the Indians be taught to read, write, and speak Spanish in special schools, and that they be forbidden to speak their native idiom were doomed to failure while the teaching of agriculture, industrial, and mechanical arts to feed, clothe, and occupy the Indians, aided in their adjustment to the new life because it took into account local conditions and "digger" psychology.³

Sonora, Arizona, and Lower California

What has been said of Franciscan education in Texas and Upper California applies quite generally to the neighboring territories of Sonora, Arizona, and the fourteen missions of Lower California which in 1772 were turned over to the Dominicans.⁴ All these projects were hampered not merely by a waning Spanish empire, but by internal conflicts between Spanish and creole personnel who were naturally influenced politically by the rising tide of revolution and independence from Spain.

Louisiana

The missions in southwestern United States where less formal education is reported were schools of life where the influence of environment was of paramount importance. From southern

¹Ibid., pp. 272-273.

²Ibid., pp. 274-276.

³Ibid., pp. 472-475, 489.

⁴Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., Franciscans in Arizona, pp. 25-27. Harbor Springs, Michigan: Holy Childhood Indian School Press, 1899.

Texas eastward, even before the Louisiana Spanish period (1769-1803), missions were established along the Gulf of Mexico Coast thus linking by land the trail of Franciscan establishments in California and Florida. Some of these, according to Castañeda were financed by the Mexican silver mines of Monterey and Zacatecas, just as much as Cuban missionary activity was paid for by the Intendencia of San Luis Potosí.¹ The French Capuchin Franciscans had quite a number of schools in Louisiana in their day, but the records of Spanish Franciscan education is very meagre.² The Spanish Recollect Franciscans operating from Cuba had one or two more or less successful educational ventures in New Orleans around 1794 due to withdrawals of French-speaking priests.³ At Pensacola, according to a letter of Patricio Walsh, a certain Fray Esteban de Naloxia was engaged in teaching children but was having language difficulties.⁴ Father Cirillo, O.F.M.Cap., who in 1783 became auxiliary bishop of Cuba, published a French-Spanish catechism which helped immensely to clear away the language barriers.⁵

Summary

Wherever the Franciscan missionaries labored in Spanish North America, from their earliest sixteenth century ventures in the West Indies, or among the Aztecs and Mayas, even until the time of secularization and independence from Spanish domination in the third decade of the nineteenth century, evidences are found of their interest in the formal education of the common people. This fairly universal and consistent policy of mass education was

¹Interview with Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin American Librarian, University of Texas. The Intendencia was a local unit of the Audiencia.

²Claude Vogel, O.F.M.Cap., The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766), pp. 69-83. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1928.

³Roger Baudier, The Catholic Church in Louisiana, pp. 204, 217. New Orleans: A. W. Hyatt Stationery Mfg. Company, Ltd., 1939; Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, "Papeles de Cuba," Legajo 102, Part VII, document of February 12, 1794. Photostat in Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Saint Louis Cathedral Archives, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1787-1800.

⁴"Papeles de Cuba," ibid., November 5, 1794.

⁵Baudier, op. cit., pp. 187, 200.

designed to effect a change in the native social order by influencing the Indians to adopt a manner of living based on the arts and skills of Christian civilization.

Franciscan personnel everywhere endeavored to adjust prevailing value systems to the Christian ideology and to the European economy and social mores. To facilitate this transfer, the tools of communication, especially reading and writing, were taught, and in many instances were supplemented by instruction in more efficient methods of domestic regimen and industrial or agricultural production. While the formal schools were largely elementary, their clientele was recruited from all ages and social conditions, thus substantially aiding the democratization of class and caste by equalizing educational opportunities, and promoting the upward social mobility of the more capable to insure at least a modicum of able native leadership among a submerged people.

The common people were thus educated not merely to serve the church and the empire, but also for their own personal and social advancement. By their interest in individual differences and socio-economic problems, the Franciscans illustrated their high regard for the integrity of the human personality, which is to be aided and not enslaved by its social setting. Ignorance keeps the human spirit captive, while knowledge gives it the power to clarify issues and recognize new values that can become functional through the use of educational skills. These tools of civilization were among the gifts which were brought to the aborigenes of Spanish North America by the padres. But, above all other groups who ventured into the field, the Franciscans implemented the process of civilization by their concerted and ubiquitous policy of a common education to achieve social change.

CHAPTER X

PATTERNS OF ADVANCED EDUCATION

Since it is impossible to collate definitively the various levels of education as we know them in the United States, namely, primary, secondary, and higher education, with the patterns of education known to the world some four centuries ago, it has been deemed advisable to use the term "advanced education," meaning thereby a level in advance of that received by the masses. The Franciscan College of Santa Cruz, which was constructed in the Tlatelolco district of Mexico City, was intended to broaden the scope of the educational offerings given to the pupils in the common schools.¹

These common schools, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, had become rather numerous in Mexico within a period of fifteen years following Ghent's arrival, even though the curriculum was largely restricted to reading, writing, Christian doctrine, chanting, and the practices of propriety. In a great many pueblos the Franciscans founded such formal educational institutions not only for boys, but, with the assistance of many religious women and some married and unmarried seculars, they promoted and supervised schools for girls.

Variations in the individual ability of the native students were an impelling factor in the encouragement which Pedro de Gante gave to his colleagues in the friary of St. Francis in Mexico City, to extend vertically the curriculum of his own school adjacent to the convent's chapel of St. Joseph. By offering at least a few of the branches, such as grammar, or another of the liberal arts to Indian boys of promise, Ghent, who, as a cousin of Charles V, was of royal blood, sought to emulate the court schools and other advanced academies and colleges of sixteenth-century Europe. In establishing Zumárraga's educational leadership, the writer has

¹Fray Geronimo de Mendieta, O.F.M., *Historia eclesiastica Indiana*. Obra escrita a fines del siglo XVI, la publica por primera vez. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, 1870. Lib. IV, cap. xv.

already indicated the archbishop's plea not only for this college but for Indian colleges in all the more populous centers of New Spain.¹

Sufficient primary evidence is wanting for a definitive decision concerning the first institution of higher education in America. Utrera² and Lanning³ seem to favor the Dominican college and later (1538) university in Española, which enjoyed the privileges, exemptions, and liberties of Alcalá.

Before the opening of the Franciscan college at Tlaltelolco on January 6, 1536, grammar was being taught to small groups of Indian boys at individual monasteries.⁴ It seems to have been considered more efficient and economical to consolidate these isolated efforts and transfer all the students of grammar to one center of learning.⁵ Friar Arnold of Bassacio, a native of France, learned and versed in the Indian language, was selected as the first master of grammar and had already made considerable progress in this new Indian venture at the convento grande de San Francisco, when the Viceroy Mendoza, apparently pleased, ordered the construction of a new building for advanced educational purposes in the northern district of present Mexico City and adjacent of the Franciscan convent and church of Santiago de Tlaltelolco. For this reason the complete title of the institution reads: Colegio de Santa Cruz de Santiago de Tlaltelolco (The Holy Cross College of St. James of Tlaltelolco).

Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, whom Mendieta calls "the true

¹Un desconocido cedulario del siglo XVI, pp. 21, 22. Edited by Alberto María Carreño, Mexico, 1944. Mexico: En casa de Pedro Ocharte, MDLXIII; "Carta de obispo de Mexico, Fr. Juan de Zumárraga, a Juan de Samano ... Mexico, a 20 de diciembre de 1537," Cartas de Indias, Madrid, pp. 165-176.

²Cipriano Utrera, O.F.M.Cap., Universidades de Santiago de la paz y de Santo Tomás de Aquino, y Seminario, pp. 5 et seq. Santo Domingo: R. D.: Padres Franciscanos Capuchinos, 1932.

³John Tate Lanning, "Las universidades coloniales de Hispano-America," Revista de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Julio-Agosto de 1931. Año XVIII, Nros. 5 y 6, pp. 7-21, esp. p. 9.

⁴Alberto María Carreño, "El colegio ...," op. cit., Vol. I, No. 5.

⁵Mendieta, op. cit., Lib. IV, cap. xv.



Fig. 19.--An old print showing the exterior of the Franciscan Holy Cross College for Indians at Tlalotelolco.

father of the Indians" paid for the erection of the building at his own expense and developed a plan of endowment for the sustenance of the college students from the rents and revenues taken in from his dwellings and haciendas.¹ This provides an excellent illustration of the endowment of a public institution by a private philanthropy.

The administration of the college was placed in the hands of the guardian (local Franciscan superior) of the friary of St. James and proper precautions were taken that the activities of the college would in no wise interfere with the parochial duties of the priests and vice versa. It must have been somewhat startling to the structure of sixteenth century higher education in Europe to note the independent organization of a college in America apart from a university and without any type of affiliation such as even Harvard had with Cambridge in the following century. It was then just as strange for an independent college to exist as it would be today to find an autonomous department of instruction isolated from college or university.

Boys between the ages of ten and twelve years who had mastered the "reading, writing, religion" curriculum offered to all, were admitted to Holy Cross College as boarding students.² This practice of admitting pupils to an advanced program of education at such an early age was rather common in sixteenth-century Europe and actually prevailed in English colonial United States during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Koos, in discussing the advancing age of the college entrant has shown that at Harvard during the early days, college professors claimed they were teaching "mere boys."³ Even during the early part of the nineteenth century there were a number of freshmen who had not passed their twelfth birthday when they entered Harvard, Bowdoin, Amherst, and Dartmouth, which, incidentally, like the Franciscan College at Tlalatelolco, was originally devoted to the advanced

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.; in 1569 it seems that even eight-year-olds were admitted; see the account of Ovando's inspection, Codice Franciscano, loc. cit., pp. 72-73.

³Leonard V. Koos, "The Advancing Age of the College Entrant," The Junior College, p. 249. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Research Publication, No. 5, 1924.

education of Indians. Now, if it be permissible within reasonable limits to project this trend of advancing age of college entrants in the United States back to the first half of sixteenth-century Mexico, we will not be surprised to find ten- to twelve-year-olds among the freshmen at Holy Cross College.

In the period of beginnings the school roster was made up primarily of the sons of the most prominent citizens or caciques of the larger towns and provinces of New Spain; almost all areas seem to have been represented since the individual students were transferred thither from the scattered individual monasteries, a fact which might indicate that they were being educated for the priesthood.¹ Withal, the college was rather restricted and somewhat exclusive, catering to the more influential and limiting its enrollment in the early years to about one hundred boys and young men. This policy was favored by the civil authorities and at least tolerated by the friars, who, probably, expected greater success with the masses through the prestige which could be given to their new movement by Christian native leadership on the part of those who previously exercised the power controls of the aboriginal social order. The recruiting process, even though aristocratically and economically biased, was also selective on the basis of intellectual ability, favoring "those whom they considered more capable" and apt to profit by advanced studies.²

That the founders and patrons of Holy Cross College held this venture into higher education in a newly explored country to be exceptionally significant for the colony and the empire, is attested to by the records which mention Viceroy Antonio Mendoza, Bishop Zumárraga, O.F.M., and Bishop Ramirez of Santo Domingo, president of the royal Audiencia of Mexico, among the prominent persons taking part in the academic procession featuring the opening of the school.³ But, Mendieta uses the hyperbole when he claims that "the whole city was with them,"⁴ even though he may be believed when he states that the inauguration ceremonies lasted several days, on each of which three addresses were delivered.

¹Codice de Tlaltelolco, Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, V, 254. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1892.

²Mendieta, op. cit., p. 414. ³Ibid., p. 415. ⁴Ibid.

The college students were reared and taught with paternalistic care, attention being given mainly to spiritual exercises and study, though bodily health and recreation were not excluded. Their dining room was the same as that of the friars while their dormitory was a spacious hall with beds arranged in rows on the one side and what seem to have been guest chambers of wooden construction, on the other side; an aisle or a passageway ran between them.¹ Each student had his own mat and blanket and personal locker to protect his books and clothes. During the entire night a lamp was kept burning in the dormitory and a prefect made the rounds to see that quiet and proper decorum prevailed. On the whole, the discipline at Tlaltelolco was rather strict, though understanding, and possessed a distinctly religious emphasis. In fact, students were subjected to the same discipline as the interni or oblato in the European monastic schools;² they rose for chant at midnight, and in the morning after the divine office and attending holy mass, they would repair to the classrooms for lectures without having had breakfast.³ They participated closely in the liturgical services, such as Vespers, and wore cassocks and surplices.

According to Mendieta, the inner chambers of the building were constructed of wood because of the prevailing humidity of the climate, but until 1537, the exterior was of adobe material.⁴

The main educational objectives of the college at Tlaltelolco can be deduced from the letters of members of the hierarchy and the report of the governmental inspector. Thus Bishop Sebastian Ramirez, de Fuenleal of Santo Domingo who was provisional president of the royal Audiencia of Mexico wrote to Emperor Charles V more than three years before the opening of the Franciscan college, that Mexican grammar should be taught to the natives, who, as his two-year experience in teaching some fifty

¹Ibid.

²Fr. Toribio de Benavente Motolinia, Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España, p. 215. D. Sanchez edition. Barcelona, 1914; Codice Mendieta, loc. cit., I, 178.

³Juan de Torquemada, O.F.M., Monarquía indiana, III, 113-114. Madrid, 1723.

⁴"Carta de Juan de Zumárraga al consejo, Mexico a 24 de noviembre de 1537," Boletín de real academia de la historia, XVII, 29-31. Madrid, 1890.

Indians reveals, have both the willingness and the aptitude for such instruction.¹ He informed the king that he has already obtained the consent of one of the Franciscan community to undertake this project and requested the imperial authorization and revenues from the royal hacienda of Mexico amounting to two thousand fanegas² de maiz for the sustenance of the students who were, for the most part, poor, and some two hundred pesos de minas to pay the teachers of grammar, Latin, and oratory.³ The Franciscan with whom Ramirez talked concerning this project was probably Fray Arnoldo Bassacio.⁴

A joint letter of the bishops, dated November 30, 1536, clearly expressed, as one of the purposes of the foundation, the teacher-training program.⁵ The new school was to aid not only the students who actually attended, but all those who would later come under the instruction and influence of its alumni.

The preceding month, Bishop Zumárraga, O.F.M., had received a royal cedula from the queen expressing her pleasure that the "examination of the intelligence of the sons of the natives" of New Spain who were being taught grammar in the monasteries revealed that there were many of great aptitude, vigorous ingenuity, and excellent memory, whose ability and talent for studying grammar and the other arts had been certified, and a report thereof forwarded to the president and judges of the royal Audiencia of Mexico.⁶ This same document reflects universal agreement and accord on the establishment of the Indian college in the parish

¹"Carta del Obispo Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal al emperador ... 8 de agosto, 1533," as quoted in Mariano Cuevas, S.J., Historia de la Iglesia en Mexico, p. 386. Tlalpan, D.F., 1921.

²One fanega is the equivalent of one-and-six-tenths English bushels.

³Ibid.

⁴Mendieta, op. cit., p. 414.

⁵"Carta de Obispos ... al emperador ... el 30 de noviembre de 1536," Documentos inéditos o raros, in the Appendix of Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, p. 93. Mexico, 1871.

⁶MS from the archives of the Cathedral in Mexico City entitled "Cedula Real expedida por la reina en Valladolid a 3 de septiembre de 1536." Confer also Carreño, Un desconocido cedulaario, op. cit.; Carreño, "El colegio de Tlalatelolco y la cultura indígena en el Siglo XVI," Divulgacion historica, Vol. I, No. 5; also Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Appendix, pp. 211-224. Mexico, 1881.

of St. James, because of its more strategic location, and the transfer of some seventy young men from the monasteries, with their belongings and school supplies, to the college, which they entered on Epiphany, or the feast of the three kings, celebrated on January 6. According to Motolinia, the opening of Tlaltelolco College took place on Epiphany, 1536, because that festival's significance is the manifestation of Christ to the non-Jewish tribes of the earth.¹

The pattern of education at Tlaltelolco resembled very closely that of seminary training, either because that was the type of education through which the friars had acquired their own leadership, or because the founders of the school hoped to prepare selectees for the ministry. The fact is that few, if any, of the Indians actually became priests, not so much because of intellectual inability but because, as Zumárraga plainly stated in a letter to Charles V, those who had all the advantages of intellect and instruction inclined toward matrimony rather than celibacy.² The sheltered life and strict discipline of the institution was perhaps one of its greatest weaknesses as far as the newly dominated Indians were concerned. Yet, it cannot be concluded from the strictness of the regimen that the exclusive purpose of the institution was the training of a native clergy, since many of the alumni attained intellectual prominence and occupied high civil offices. Thus, Antonio Valeriano³ was appointed to a high executive position and Diego Adriano was noted as a grammarian, while several, including Miguel of Cuauhtitlan, Carlos de Texcoco, Martinus de la Cruz, and Juannes Badianus became teachers and writers and scores of others became scribes, secretaries, and judges.⁴

Further clarification of the institution's objectives can be made from the curriculum of the college and the number of stu-

¹Motolinia, op. cit., Trat. I, cap. xiii, p. 68.

²"Carta del Obispo Juan de Zumárraga al Emperador Carlos V ... fecha 17 de abril, de 1540," Documentos inéditos o raros (Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta), loc. cit., pp. 136-138.

³The Indians were given their names by friars or other Spaniards.

⁴Cuevas, op. cit., pp. 218, 388.

dents admitted. Sacred Scripture, which at that time included within its scope practically all the theological disciplines, was emphasized for such students who showed special talent and eagerness to learn more about the faith;¹ two or more were selected from each of the provinces of New Spain. Apparently neither the clientele nor the staff were from restricted geographical areas, but were chosen without regard to territory.

Latin, logic, philosophy, grammar, and other liberal arts constituted the remainder of the courses of study; great stress seems to have been placed on grammar, probably because of the necessity of reducing the native languages to grammatical form.² The Indian students did so well, that those who were graduated performed the office of teachers in the schools of the pueblos, taught the native idioms to the friars, and translated and interpreted the things of faith in those languages; at the same time some served as interpreters in the Audiencias, or as clerks in the offices of the judges and governors; one of their number, Antonio Valeriano, who had been a collegian at Tlaltelolco, and was known for his ability and virtue became the Indian governor of Mexico.³

Actual figures on student enrollments at Holy Cross College even within the first decades of its existence are very irregular and indefinite, to say the least. They range from a low of fifty to a high of two hundred Indian boys and young men above ten and below forty years of age. The maximum figure of two hundred is given us by Geronimo López, an enemy of the Franciscan plan for advanced Indian education, who may have somewhat exaggerated the "damage" the college was doing to the Spanish cause.⁴ Steck seems to consider this figure reliable and proposes its harmony with conflicting smaller figures by distinguishing resident from day students and adding the two numbers.⁵ In 1569 a request was made for grants-in-aid to students from many locali-

¹Nueva colección de documentos ... Mexico, IV, 177.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴"Carta de Geronimo López al emperador, 20 de octubre de 1541," Colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 148-150.

⁵Francisco Borgia Steck, O.F.M., El Primer Colegio de America, Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco, p. 37. Mexico, 1944.

ties so that the enrollment might be between 150-200.¹ Zumárraga had hoped for 300 students in 1537.²

Two years earlier a cedula of the queen to the Viceroy Antonio Mendoza explained Bishop Zumárraga's proposal for an Indian university where all the faculties of arts and theology might be taught just as in other universities, because the fifty or sixty Indian boys, sons of the natives in the college of St. James in Mexico City (the parish of Holy Cross College), were doing well and needed something even more advanced.³ Incidentally, this royal message which treats also of alms and salaries for the lecturers and teachers at Tlaltelolco indicates that Zumárraga's proposed university was meant for the natives. This may have been a factor in the aloofness of the Franciscans from the University of Mexico, founded primarily for Spaniards in 1551, despite the fact that they had scholars on the immediate scene.

A letter of the bishops directed to the emperor in 1538 mentioned some seventy students.⁴ Another document, the report of the viceregal inspector Licendiado Juan de Ovando (1568-1571), states that there were some eighty older Indians recruited from the principal towns of New Spain in attendance at the Franciscan institution.⁵ The Tlaltelolco Codex gives the following census report: The institution had "sixty-five collegiate Indians from the pueblos of this New Spain who study Latin, and a lector, a rector, a drill master and another drill master: in all sixty-nine persons."⁶ There also were some thirty-five additional boarders at the college, Indian day students, some of whom apparently

¹Codice Franciscano, loc. cit., pp. 72-73.

²"Carta de D. Juan Zumárraga al consejo, de Mexico 25 de noviembre, 1537," Boletín de real academia de España, Historia, XVII, 29-31.

³"Cedula de la reyna ... al Antonio de Mendoza, 1538," Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mexico 1088, Lib. C 3, fols. 1-2. Scholes photograph, Carnegie Institute of Washington.

⁴"Carta de tres obispos al emperador ... 1537," Documentos inéditos o raros, loc. cit., p. 99. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta.

⁵Codice Franciscano, Siglo XVI, Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 70-73.

⁶Codice de Tlaltelolco, Nueva colección de documentos ... Mexico, V, 254.

worked for their daily portion, but all of whom slept at their own homes and, therefore, were probably local students. They had come to learn to read, write, and master some Latin. Finally, there were also some Indian women at the institution who made tortillas, and a group of domestics who served in the said college and ate there.¹

From the foregoing we might summarize the main educational objectives of the Franciscan College at Tlaltelolco as follows:

1. To prepare the native aristocracy for leadership in the social, religious, and political life of the new social order.
2. To build a native clergy.
3. To educate teachers for the schools in the pueblos and as assistant teachers to the friars.
4. To confirm the Indians in the faith by giving them the rational underpinning and understanding for their newly adopted religious practices.
5. To interpret the teachings of the Church to other influential natives.
6. To provide vocational training to Indians who might otherwise qualify as interpreters, scribes, public officials, sacristans and officers of both church and state.
7. To enable the natives through grammatical training to teach the new friars the genius of their idioms and aid them in the composition of vocabularies and grammars.

Santa Cruz College, located within the extensive patio of St. James Franciscan monastery, fell under the jurisdiction and administration of the local guardian, although his majesty the king was named as patron. It seems that, at least in the beginning, the local superior was also rector of the college, as in the case of Friar James de Grado, O.F.M., who, because of his position rather than his contribution, received the unmerited praise of alumni most of whom were much more indebted to the scholarship of Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M.² Later on, the guardianate was separated from the presidency and rectorate.³ Thus, in 1555 Martin Jacobita, an Indian, was rector while Juan de Mansilla was guardian.⁴

¹Ibid.

²Emily Walcott Emmart, The Badianus Manuscript, p. 25. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940.

³Icazbalceta, "Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun," loc. cit., p. 148.

⁴Codice de Tlaltelolco, op. cit.

Among the Franciscan and non-Franciscan instructors at Holy Cross College the sources mention specifically Fray Juan de Gaona, O.F.M., a graduate of the University of Paris, who taught theology, Friar Francisco de Bustamante, O.F.M., Fray Juan Fucher, O.F.M. (Focher), a Frenchman, doctor of laws from the University of Paris, Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., distinguished scholar, writer, historian, and anthropologist, Fray Arnolde de Bassacio, O.F.M., instructor in Latin and Nahuatl, Friar Alonso de Molina, and Andrés de Olmos, Franciscan linguists, Friar Juan de Torquemada, O.F.M., historian, García Cisneros, O.F.M., Josef de Castañeda, lector of mathematics and grammar, Gregorio de Medina, Gaspar de Torres, master of reading and writing, Juan de Requena, interpreter, Diego Diaz, an alcalde together with the regidores Martín de Santiago, Alonso Lucas, and Pedro Daniel.¹

To this list most certainly must be added the name of Friar James of Testéra, O.F.M., custodian of the Holy Gospel custody from 1533 to 1535, when it was erected to the rank of a province with García de Cisneros, erstwhile professor of Tlatelolco, as the first provincial. According to a royal cedula directed to Mendoza from Barcelona on the first of May, 1543, ordering that a house, endowment, and alms be given to two religious who aid in the administration of the sacraments and teach the students at Tlatelolco, Padre Testéra is cited as the commissary general for the Franciscans in the Indies.² He had written to the king that the two religious had spent eight years in that work and deserved a special building and substantial royal support. Thus Testéra is closely linked with the founding of the school, both because of this letter written probably in 1542, and because of his relations with Zumárraga and Fuenleal eight years previously, when negotiations for the opening of the college were alive both in Mexico and in Spain where Zumárraga spent most of 1543.³

¹Codice Franciscano (Siglo XVI) and Codice de Tlatelolco in Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 70-73; V, 241-272. Publicada por Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1889; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, 1566. Bustamante edition, Book V, chap. xxvii, pp. 81-82. Mexico, 1829-30.

²"Para que se haga una casa de religiosos en el Tlatelulco con paracer," Cedulario de Puga (foja 96, vuelta), año 1543, I, 444-445.

³Steck, El primer colegio, pp. 7-9.

The report given to the royal inspector, D. Juan Ovando, in 1560, seeking the conservation and improvement of the college for the Indian population, gives evidence that there were not very many students from a single locality, but that in order to benefit all, there were two or three from each pueblo.¹ It was, therefore, recommended in encouragement of this "grand work" that a grant be made to two students from each village so that the enrollment would number about 150 to 200; thus, it was hoped the Indians might be repaid for the injuries inflicted on them by some of the Spanish officials. Whether or not this policy was chosen advisedly is not known, but certainly the distributive selection of students who were to return to their homes and lead in the construction of a new civilization meant that the Christian Spanish ideology was given a chance to permeate evenly, though gradually, into the entire territory of New Spain.

While the Franciscans were in charge of the instruction and administration of the college during the greater part of its existence, it was none-the-less a government institution under the jurisdiction of the viceroy, to whom and through whom Zumárraga often appealed for help.² According to the college inventories it seems that the students were attired in clerical cap and gown, which during the years of royal patronage were regularly of violet color; but in later years, when the school had lost its advanced status, we find that the clothes made for the students by the Indian matron, Francisca de Santa Maria, were of a green color, which Steck thinks may have signified hope for a greater future, while the violet which was retained only for the hood, reminded the pupils of their school's historic greatness.³ The imperial escutcheon was affixed to the main door of Holy Cross College; hence, Charles V took a certain degree of pride in the appearance of the school. A cedula dated August 23, 1538, ordered the viceroy and the royal Audiencia to inspect the building and

¹Codice Franciscano, loc. cit., pp. 72-73.

²"Carta de Juan Zumárraga a Carlos V, fecha 24 de noviembre de 1536," in Robert Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique, p. 264.

³Codice de Tlaltelolco, loc. cit., pp. 250-270; Steck, El primer colegio, pp. 27-28.

take steps to build a more substantial structure.¹ This royal order seems to have been in response to the request of Bishops Zumárraga, O.F.M., López de Zarate, and Marroquin, representing scattered territories of New Spain; they asked that the adobe structure which had become too small be replaced by a two-story stone building with dormitory, library, workshops, and offices on the second floor, and a meeting hall and classrooms on the lower floor.² Perhaps the cold and humidity made it imperative that the students sleep on the second floor. The king commanded, but Viceroy Mendoza actually financed and constructed the building.³ Vetancurt, who wrote in 1697, asserted that the two-story structure was built toward the south of the patio at Tlaltelolco.⁴ The sources seem to be in conflict concerning the length of time that the structure actually remained in good condition, since Mendieta, writing at the close of the sixteenth century, states it to have been in excellent repair, under the watchful eye of Sahagun, who, during his forty years there, had enlarged the dormitory and increased the number of halls.⁵ The Franciscan Provincial Toral reported to Philip II that the college structure was on the verge of ruin in 1560, not even twenty-five years after its erection.⁶ This is understandable when we remember that the friars were relinquishing the administration of the college to the Indians at this time, and that letters seeking funds tend psychologically to exaggerate need.⁷

¹"Cedula de 23 de agosto de 1538," Documentos inéditos o raros. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, p. 325.

²"Carta de los tres obispos de Nueva España a Carlos V," ibid., pp. 87-103.

³Mendieta, Historia, p. 414; Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, p. 214.

⁴Fr. Agustín de Vetancurt, O.F.M., Cronica de la provincia del santo evangelio de Mexico, pp. 67-68. Mexico, 1697, Edition of 1871.

⁵Mendieta, Historia, pp. 417-418.

⁶"Carta del Padre Francisco de Toral a Felipe II, fechada en Mexico, el 13 de marzo de 1560," in R. Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique, p. 265, n. 1; Sahagun, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, III, 90. Robredo edition, Mexico, 1938.

⁷On this question confer Steck, El primer colegio, pp. 32-

The Franciscan institution of Santa Cruz may correctly be spoken of as a free Indian college, though the appellation "public" is probably not justified since its enrollment was racially and socially restricted. The government gave periodic grants-in-aid to the college; Mendoza and other individuals made private benefactions, while the friars contributed their administrative and instructional services.¹ From 1543 until 1564 the Spanish government issued royal orders which granted annual, semi-annual, or occasional revenues in the form of pesos de oro comun or pesos de minas, or ducats, or unclaimed cattle, large and small, or bushels of corn.² These governmental grants together with private philanthropies enabled the friars to put most of their energies into the educational program of the institution.

But Mendoza was transferred to the viceroyalty of Peru in 1550, Charles V died in 1558, and Velasco, the second viceroy of New Spain followed him in death during the year 1564. After these calamities the enrollment seems to have been reduced while the subventions received from Philip II were unusually small.³ Despite this decline in royal support the institution continued to exercise its instructional functions, aided by Spaniards of the socially mobile class, such as Francisca de Santa Maria, Hernando and Maria Lucia Ramirez, and the resolute spirit of friars like Jeronimo de Mendieta, Juan Bautista, and Sahagun.⁴ The absence of fixed annual revenues which would have provided a stable income for the college may have been due to a scrupulous insistence on the Franciscan rule which requires complete expropriation of the friars even as regards property held in common.⁵ In this respect the policy of the Franciscan University at Celaya differed notably from the practice at Santa Cruz.

33, and Fernando Ocaranza, El imperial colegio de Indios de la santa cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco, pp. 16-17. Mexico, 1934.

¹"Carta del obispo Zumárraga a Carlos V, el 22 de septiembre de 1537," Archivo-Ibero-Americano, XXXI (1929), 382-383, Madrid; Steck, El primer colegio, pp. 61-64.

²Ocaranza, El imperial colegio, pp. 14-15.

³Codice Mendieta, loc. cit., IV, 178-180; Codice Franciscano, loc. cit., p. 73; Codice de Tlatelolco, loc. cit., pp. 243-253, 262-267.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Codice Mendieta, loc. cit., IV, 181.

A tremendous amount of opposition was gradually being built up against this Franciscan project of advanced Indian education. Thus, one of the conquistadores, Jeronimo López, wrote several letters to Charles V, demanding that the Franciscans be silenced and protesting that the course of study at Tlatelolco was having a pernicious effect on the natives; he seemed to have feared that many would be scandalized, apostatize, or revolt when they studied the history of Spain, especially its former subjection to the Romans, its conversion to the faith, its struggles, and colonial policy.¹ López was very much opposed to the Franciscan practice of having the natives read the Bible and he cited the example of Don Carlos, a cacique, who apostatized in 1539. Steck draws an interesting comparison between Conquistador López of Mexico and Governor William Berkeley of Virginia, who, though separated by a century and differing in religion and nation, language, and background, had almost the same educational philosophy relative to the Indians.² Berkeley thanked God for the absence of schools and printing presses because they were looked upon by him as instruments of rebellion, heresy, and discord in the world, which could lead only to calumny and rebellion against the state. He asked God to free his colony from both.

Unfortunately, not all the opposition was from the laity. The clergy, both secular and religious, allowed themselves to be blinded by envy and jealousy, as Mendoza himself declared, so that some tore down what had been built up by colleagues.³ This inter-clerical and inter-religious strife may have been occasioned by embarrassing moments which some poorly educated clerics had, when conversing with, or being corrected by Indian "bachelors" who had a refined knowledge of Latin grammar.⁴ Another plausible

¹"Carta de Jeronimo López a Carlos V., el 20 de octubre 1541," Colección de documentos, II, 148-150. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta; "Carta de Jeronimo López a Carlos V., el 25 de febrero de 1544," Epistolario de la Nueva España, IV, 150-179.

²Steck, The Historical Background of the Church State Problem in Mexico, p. 24. St. Louis, 1936.

³Mendoza, "Relacion, apuntamientos y avisos," Instrucciones que los vireyes de Nueva España se dieron a sus sucesores, p. 229. Mexico, 1867 edition; Codice Franciscano, loc. cit., p. 69.

⁴Codice Franciscano, pp. 71-72.

explanation is given in the Codice Mendieta; the writer complains that the work of civilizing the Indians is being hampered either by the devil, or by envy toward the Franciscan Order because of its gracious acceptance by the natives as their protector and guide.¹

Both Motolinia and Sahagun rose in defense of advanced education for Indians, declaring that it was prejudice rather than evidence which led some seculars and some members of other religious orders to decry the ability of the natives to pursue grammar, Latin, and Sacred Scripture.² When this ability was proved to them they sought to find other reasons to confirm them in their persistent prejudice against the race and the Order.

In fact, even within the Order there was prejudice against the Tlaltelolco educational philosophy. Thus, Padre Alonso Ponce, O.F.M., commissary general of the Indies, who should have been tolerant and prudent, seems to have thought that the Latin students who greeted him with prepared speeches, were as parrots and magpies who simply repeated what they had learned without understanding it.³ But Ponce must have been greatly humiliated when these same Indian students defended themselves in Latin. They were not haughty, but sought to recruit the good will of those who thought their ability to be rather feeble, pointing out rather diplomatically, if not with sarcasm, that divine favors will be accorded to those who assist the "needy and the ignorant."

Further causes leading to the dissolution of the institution may have resulted from the disinterestedness of the Franciscans in administrative affairs and the austerity of their rule which strictly forbids the possession of property, the acceptance of fixed annual income, and the handling of money.⁴ Floods and diseases of epidemic proportions, common even today in sections

¹Codice Mendieta, loc. cit., IV, 178-179.

²Motolinia, Historia, p. 215; Sahagun, Historia general, III, 88-89.

³Fray Alonso Ponce, O.F.M., Relacion breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al Padre Fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de Nueva Espana, siendo comisario general de aquellas partes, 1584 ... escritos por dos religiosos sus companeros, I, 22-24. Mexico, 1875.

⁴Sahagun, Historia general, III, 90.

of Mexico, probably caused serious declines in enrollments. Ocaranza cites several documents to show that two of the major-domos to whom the friars relinquished the managing of temporalities, Tomás López, the treasurer in 1577, and Esteban Casasano, who was named major-domo in 1591, misappropriated funds amounting to at least 1,000 pesos which, however, were later restored.¹

Following the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which granted the bishops jurisdictional rights over the founding of colleges by members of religious orders in their respective territories, other difficulties arose since the friars had originally been granted plenipotentiary powers by the pope with regard to the conversion and civilization of the natives.² These disturbances were not settled until 1567, when Pope St. Pius V and King Philip II outlined more precisely the privileges and limitations of the bishops and mendicant religious in New Spain.³ On July 5, 1586 the king of Spain dispatched an order to Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras which nullified his appointments at Tlatelolco and ordered him to abstain from further nominations of procurators, overseers, and bursars.⁴ Little wonder that Mendieta tells us that despite the efforts of Sahagun to restore the advanced curriculum at Santa Cruz, the friars tired of such bickerings, and crushed by opposition and new difficulties, found consolation in instructing the children who came there, in reading, writing, and good manners.⁵ It was definitely reduced to an elementary school for Indian children before the year 1606.⁶ According to

¹Ocaranza, El colegio imperial, pp. 71-72, 151, 154; Codice de Tlatelolco, loc. cit., V, 266.

²Ocaranza, El imperial colegio, pp. 171-174; Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España, 1539-1594, in Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México, I, 99. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1886.

³Pedro Joseph Parras, Gobierno de los regulares de la América, Segunda Parte, caps. xv y xvi; Parte Tercera, cap. ii. Madrid, 1783.

⁴Ocaranza, El imperial colegio, p. 174.

⁵Mendieta, Historia, pp. 417-418.

⁶Torquemada, op. cit., III, 114-115; Ocaranza, El imperial colegio, p. 39.

Steck, the friars sought to re-establish the advanced studies in 1666 but were unable to finance it.¹ This probably accounts for the fact that the Commissary General, Fray Domingo Noriega, O.F.M., ordered the reconversion of various halls into elementary classrooms, for the instruction of children in the rudiments of religion, reading, and writing.²

After rendering valuable services to the natives in preparing them for leadership in the political, social, economic, and religious life of their new social order, the college at Tlatelolco was forced to relinquish its advanced educational program and became an elementary school. Some time later it was used as a house of studies under the name of St. Bonaventure College, but, with the development of governmental opposition to religious control in education, the property was confiscated and now is used as a military prison.³ Yet, even at present, there is some discussion of re-opening this pioneer American institution of advanced education.

The reasons for the decline and extinction of Santa Cruz as an agency for socializing the natives in the new ideology may be summarized as follows:

1. Lack of sufficient financial support.
2. Persistence in reserving the school exclusively for the Indians.
3. Opposition to a native clergy on the part of some civil and ecclesiastical superiors.
4. Opposition to the advanced classical education of the Indians.
5. Race prejudice which refused to recognize equality of educational opportunity for the Indians.
6. Fear that higher instruction, especially in the Scriptures, might lead to heresies among the Indians.
7. Envy of Franciscan success in influencing the natives and holding their affection and respect.
8. Turning too much of the college administration over to the Indians before they were ready to undertake such responsibilities.

¹Vetancurt, Cronica, III, 211.

²Steck, El primer colegio, p. 84.

³Vetancurt, Teatro Mexicano, III, 96. In 1749 Tlatelolco had only 31 seminarians but both teachers and students taught hundreds of boys and girls of the neighborhood to read and write, sing and count, in addition to their Christian doctrine. See "Informacion ... de ... Santiago Tlatelolco," 1749. "Maltrato de Indios," Mex. MS 135, No. 27. Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

9. Epidemics, like the one of 1545, which greatly reduced the population.

10. The strictness of the Franciscan rule against proprietorship even in common.

11. Misappropriation of funds by the secular major-domos, Tomé López and Esteban Casasano.

12. The necessary preoccupation of the friars with temporalities rather than curriculum and instruction.

13. The decrees of the Council of Trent demanding the approbation of the diocesan ordinary for the founding and continuance of colleges within his territorial jurisdiction.

That the rigid observance of the precept of the Franciscan rule against proprietorship militated against Franciscan higher education was again confirmed in the refusal of the Friars Minor to take over the College of St. Louis in Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico. In 1557 or 1558 Luís de Leon offered the Franciscans a subvention of 10,000 pesos for the founding of the Colegio de San Luís de Francia¹ which was to be modelled after the University of Valladolid. When the Franciscans, under the rigid persuasion of Padre Juan de Rivas, refused the subvention, the Friars Preacher (Dominicans) founded the school.

An excellent example of the Franciscan Order's internal conflict between the strict observance of poverty and its willingness to administer higher educational institutions on a permanent basis is had in the founding of the College of St. Francis at Celaya, near Querétaro.

The city of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception of Celaya, located in the present Mexican state of Guanajuato, was the home of Don Pedro Nuñez de la Roja, a very wealthy landowner of the early seventeenth century. By virtue of his will, the entire fortune he had amassed, including very specifically his hacienda and the revenues accruing therefrom for all time, were to be given outright to the Franciscan friars of the local community for the express purpose of founding and conducting a college, where the religious might study the arts and theology jointly with the secular sons (los hijos) of Celaya.² It is

¹Mariano Fernandez Echeverría y Veytia, Historia de la fundacion de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles en la Nueva España (1770?) (Puebla edición de Fidel Solís), II, 375-377. Puebla, Mexico, 1880; also Vetancurt, Teatro Mexicano, II, 383; Sahagun, Historia general, III, 90.

²Fr. Alonso de la Rea, O.F.M., Cronica de la orden de n. serafico p.s. Francisco-provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de

difficult to determine from the sources still extant whether the educational funds accruing from the Nuñez will and testament are to be classified simply as college endowment, or rather as funds functioning as endowment, since some of the capital was more than likely employed in the construction of the buildings. There are two rather specific provisions of the will which might help clarify the character of the endowment. The rector, perpetually so constituted, is to be the provincial superior of the Franciscan province of Michoacán who is to attend to the annual expenditure of 3,800 pesos, secured from the sale of wheat and other possessions, for the support of students.¹ From the known facts thus presented it would seem that a real college endowment or trust fund existed at Celaya, at least after the construction of the buildings.² Excluding the perpetuity provision, which is practically absurd in any endowment, the six important elements of endowment were present: donor, assets, trustee, stipulation on income, beneficiary, and remainder man.

That a real endowment existed at Celaya was also the opinion of the provincial, Fray Juan López, and his counsellors. And it was this precisely which made them hesitate in accepting the offer, because any endowment which provides a more or less permanent security of future income is foreign to the state of mendicancy on which the Franciscan Order is founded.³ Placed in a dilemma by their zeal for the strict observance of the rule of life they had vowed and by their realization that Franciscan leadership through higher education would greatly expand their influence for good, the provincial definitorium petitioned the Holy See for a dispensation to accept the endowment and found the college at Celaya.

This procedure, which showed an intelligent and opportunistic adjustment to the needs of time and place, is shown very

Mechoacan en la Nueva España, año de 1639, Edición: Mexico, 1882, pp. 296-297. Mexico: Imprenta de J. R. Barbadillo y G. Montealegre num. 15, 1882.

¹Ibid.

²Trevor Arnett, College and University Finance, pp. 24-53. New York: General Education Board, 1922.

³Fr. John Ilg, O.F.M., Explanation of the Rule of the Friars Minor, pp. 106-109. Chicago: Privately printed, 1927.

clearly in a papal brief found by the writer on October 16, 1944 in the Departamento de Manuscritos, Estampas, e Iconografia of the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City.¹ Pope Urban VIII under date of October 15, 1624, in a six-page document called a "Buleto," grants a sweeping dispensation to the friars of Celaya, together with a very broad charter for the founding of the proposed college, and exemption from episcopal jurisdiction in the administration of the same.

In the introduction, the Supreme Pontiff cites the importance of literary studies in the advancement of truth and justice, particularly considering the nature of the times which need enlightenment for the increase of faith and divine worship. He then mentions the communication he received from Friar Juan López, O.F.M., provincial of the Franciscan province of Sts. Peter and Paul, who, together with a secular layman of Celaya, Gaspar de Almanza by name, was made executor of the will of Pedro Nuñez. The latter, who appears from this document to have been an apostolic syndic empowered to handle all civil contracts for the Celayan convent, desired to establish a college there for the province of Michoacán, where teachers and students could gather for the study of grammar, the arts and sciences, philosophy, and theology.²

Pedro Nuñez, according to the papal brief, made his will freely, without impediment, so that it would not be contested in any court whether civil or ecclesiastical.

. . . . attending to the common and general good of the said town in which he had lived upwards of thirty-five years, and the welfare of the religious of the said province of which he was the syndic, he willed that in the house of the friars of St. Francis of the said city, there be founded a college of the religious of the order and the aforementioned province, in which lectors and scholars are to be present at stated hours to teach grammar, or the arts, or theology; he ordained, furthermore, that the aforesaid college perpetually

¹El Breve fecha en Roma en Santa Maria la Major ... en quinze días del mes de octubre del año de mil seiscientos y veinte y quatro del pontificado, año segundo, de nuestro santissimo padre pontifice Urbano octavo, 15 de 8º de 1624, fols. 16. Certified printed Latin and Spanish copy, April 15, 1725; Sello Quarto, un cuarto, años de mil setecientos y veinte y siete y veinte y ocho, num. 29, caja 92, leg. 1, Departamento de Manuscritos, Estampas, e Iconografia, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico.

²Ibid.

remain in the aforementioned house, and he commanded to be vested therein his universal inheritance of all goods, actions, and rights, and the fruition and returns therefrom annually at stated times for the sustenance and clothing of the religious, lectors and scholars of the house and aforesaid college, with the only exception that annually a hundred and fifty pounds in gold are to be expended for the maintenance of the altar of St. Francis erected by him in the church of the said house, and another one hundred and fifty similar pounds to be given annually to the patron of the college during the time of his administration in recompense for his work All the rest of the income and returns he gave in perpetuity to the college for the sustenance and clothing of the religious lectors and their scholars, and for the repairing of the house itself, with the condition ,¹

that certain high masses were to be sung for the repose of his soul, and those of his wife, mother, and other deceased relatives.

The testamentary provisions for the college even included food and clothing for the students and professors and the only restriction on the use of the income was an attached onus that a certain amount be used for the shrine of St. Francis in the parochial church, for the singing of high masses, and for the sustenance of the lay-trustee or syndic of the college.

Waiving all restrictions which might have hindered the founding, organization, and development of the college, the same papal document, approved by the college of cardinals, announced the institution of an advanced school of learning in the Franciscan house at Celaya, and appointed a rector and professors for the teaching of grammar, and the other liberal arts and sciences as well as theology with all the privileges and obligations common to all the other colleges. The friars are authorized to accept in perpetuity all the revenues accruing from the endowment and to use them, without any further approbations, for the necessities of the college and its students. This authorization was the equivalent of a dispensation from that point of the Franciscan rule which forbids the friars to receive perpetual fixed income from legacies.

From the brief of Pope Urban VIII it is likewise clear that Gaspar de Almanza, patron or lay-trustee, and his successors, the syndics of the convent, were obligated by Don Pedro Nuñez to keep very exact and notarized accounts of all transactions, indi-

¹Ibid.

cating the day, month, year, and precise amount of each receipt and expenditure, in a ledger specifically prepared for that purpose. These accounts were to be subjected to an annual audit by the provincial superior and two witnesses and to more frequent inspection and guidance by the rector and college secretary, but were beyond the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical judges, secular prelates, including bishops, and royal notaries.¹

The rector or president of Celaya, in virtue of the donor's will, was vested with almost total administrative responsibility and authority. He had the power to designate the professors, determine the curriculum, decide which chairs of study were to receive preference, how many students were to be received, where and at what hours the various classes were to meet, and the nature and amount of equipment in each classroom. In short, the chief administrative officer had everything to say about the teachers, the students, the buildings, and the educational program.²

Though the testator's will and the papal brief were very clear on the admission of secular students to the college, very few seem to have been admitted before 1637 when the matter was brought up at the provincial chapter. It seems the original building was too small to admit non-Franciscan students. The presiding visitor general, Fr. Luís Flores, O.F.M., of the province of St. James in Xalisco, whose prudence and zeal were well known in New Spain, ordered that the tenor and mind of the papal brief be observed. Consequently, on November 8, 1638, secular Spanish boys of Celaya were admitted to the college for the study of grammar and the arts; in 1639 their number was one hundred and twenty.³

Due to a series of crop failures, caused by severe drought, there occurred a considerable diminution in endowment income which in 1660 necessitated the transfer of the liberal arts course to Querétaro and the theologate to Valladolid, the present Morelia. But twenty-three years later the financial returns were again at a sufficiently high level to allow the laying of the cornerstone of a new building on the second of February, 1683.

The same document found by the writer among the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City contains the

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Rea, op. cit., pp. 299-300.

memorial of Friar Juan Barrientos, O.F.M., procurator general for all Franciscan provinces and custodies of New Spain, which he directed to Don Juan de Acuña, viceroy, governor, and captain general of the same territory, informing him of the high estate to which Pope Urban VIII had elevated the college of Celaya, of its many and varied privileges, and of its public prestige in letters and influence.¹ Barrientos writes that the privileges of a royal university still are to be attained, so that the students who study rhetoric, philosophy, and sacred theology for the same length of time and with as great diligence as those who are graduated from the University of Mexico, should enjoy the same honors which have in the past also been communicated to Santa Cruz Seminary in Oaxaca, to the Jesuit College in Querétaro, and to the College of San Juan in the City of Los Angeles. He requests, therefore, that the privileges of a royal university be granted expressly to the students of Celaya and its environs, many of whom were poor and, consequently, unable to attend the University of Mexico; he attests that this accreditation will in no wise prejudice the Mexico City institution since the students of Celaya would for the most part be unable to attend the principal university even if royal privileges were denied to the Franciscan institution at Celaya.

The Barrientos memorial is followed by an "Informe de la Real Universidad," dated December 6, 1725, and issued at the Senate Hall of the University of Mexico, in which the attorney-general and several other lawyers of the Real Audiencia declared that the granting of royal privileges to Celaya would be a violation of Law three (Recopilación de leyes), under the title "universities," which expressly prohibited the awarding of royal degrees in any institutions not strictly seminaries, founded according to the dispositions of the Council of Trent, for the teaching of the arts, sacred theology, the sacred canons, and law.² The fiscal and the abogados contended that the papal brief granted to the Franciscan province of Michoacán only such privileges, exemptions, honors, prerogatives, indults, and favors for its "Colegio en dicha Ciudad de Zelaya" as were usual in the Order (de su

¹"Memorial," El Breve, fols. 12 (v.) - 13 (r.).

²Ibid., fols. 13 (r.) - 14 (r.).

Orden), and, since a royal order de reforma issued on May 1, 1649, no extensions of privileges could be made for the granting of royal degrees in institutions which were not seminaries in the strict sense of the word; all members of the university senate, according to this reform statute, were ordered to interpret it strictly and even the viceroy was not permitted to dispense therefrom.¹

It seems, therefore, that Celaya was considered at this time to be a college for members of the Order only, and, hence, not entitled to more universal privileges. This certainly had not been the intention of Pedro Nuñez de la Roja who provided the endowment for a "college where the religious might study arts and theology together with the sons of the village."² But this change from an open school to a closed institution militated against governmental recognition of its degrees.

In due course, however, a dispensation was given through the attorney-general of his majesty for the granting of royal degrees at Celaya to students of grammar, the other liberal arts and sciences, and sacred theology.³ The respuesta fiscal, dated December 13, 1725 and issued in Mexico City, acknowledges the validity of the reasons presented in the memorial of the procurator general, but also stated that no secular student may be hindered from studying grammar and the other liberal arts there, but that religious from other provinces will not be permitted to attend, since the institution is intended for the religious and secular students of Celaya and its suburbs.⁴

With a considerable increase in students and the broadening of the curriculum the Pontifical College of Celaya became surprisingly so well known and influential that the Viceroy Juan de Acuña acceded to the petition of Fr. Juan Barrientos, Franciscan procurator of New Spain, that the said college be raised

¹Ibid., fols. 13 (v.) - 14 (r.).

²Rea, op. cit., p. 297.

³"Respuesta Fiscal," El Breve, fols. 14 (v.) - 15 (r.); confer also Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de Indias, Libro primero, título veinte y dos, ley tercera. En quatro tomos. En Madrid: Por Julian de Paredes, 1681.

⁴Ibid., fol. 15 (r.).

to the rank of a Royal University. The viceregal decree is dated December 17, 1725. For many years this institution of higher education had been offering a full university curriculum of grammar and rhetoric, liberal arts and sciences, philosophy, and theology to a more or less local clientele who found attendance at the University of Mexico impossible or difficult because of financial insufficiency or traveling hazards.¹

The final decree granting the privileges of a royal university to the Celayan Franciscan College was signed on December 17, 1725 by Viceroy and Captain General Don Juan de Acuña, the Marqués de Casa-Fuerte, and reads as follows in the writer's free translation:

Decree Granting University Privileges

By these letters present I amplify the faculties of the College, in the City of Zelaya, which the religious of the Seraphic Father Saint Francis, of the province of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul of Michoacán, have in their care, so that it may enjoy the privileges of the royal university in as much as therein secular students who so desire may pursue courses in grammar, rhetoric, philosophy and sacred theology for the length of time that is customary and required; for which reason certification must be made regarding the time during which they pursue the courses, and that those who petition will observe the statutes of this royal university that no one will be admitted to this university except precisely the students from the vicinity and surroundings of the same jurisdiction, it enjoys the privileges which are held and enjoyed by college seminaries of Santa Cruz in the city of Oaxaca, and that of the Company of Jesus in Querétaro, and that of San Juan in the City of Puebla. It may exercise the rights of this royal university and its secretariate, the same as the previously mentioned seminaries exercise regarding matriculation, oaths concerning the courses, and certifications so that those to whom they are indebted may not be defrauded, and so, that by these means they may mentally invigorate the students who would be discouraged in their pursuit of letters if such an opportunity were lacking in this province. Mexico, December 17, 1725--El Marqués de Casa-Fuerte. By command of his excellency--D. Antonio de Avilés.

Immediately following this decree is an attestation of its authenticity in the handwriting of Antonio Avilés to the effect that the printed copy corresponds exactly with the original which was sent to the Procurator of the Holy Gospel Province. The attestation was signed and co-signed at Mexico City on February 21, 1728,

¹Ibid., fols. 14-15.

and explains why the entire document is classified in the Departamento de Manuscritos, Estampas e Iconografia, at the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City, with materials for 1727 and 1728 rather than with manuscripts of 1624 or 1725.

To Fr. Fernando Alonso Gonzales, at one time rector, then provincial, and later commissary general of the Indies, belongs the credit of having launched a building program following the college's attainment of university status. The new buildings for which he himself collected the funds were dedicated by the Bishop of Honduras, Fr. Antonio López de Guadalupe, on December 8, 1728.¹

There were three distinct buildings each with its own offices, refectory, kitchen, dormitory, and infirmary. The first building was primarily intended for the religious students, the second for secular boarding students, while the third was the cloistered friary where the Franciscan professors lived. There were two general halls where the professors of philosophy lectured, one general hall of theology, distinct classrooms for grammar and rhetoric; in addition, several rooms were set aside for the schools of arts and sciences.²

Religious services were held in both chapels, one dedicated to Our Lady, and the other to St. Anthony. The garden, the two large patios, the numerous paintings were meant to provide an ennobling and uplifting environment for the pursuit of the higher studies. According to the available statistics the total number of rooms was fifty-eight in which over a hundred students could be housed. The library contained some 5,600 volumes; no inventory comparable to that of Tomé López at Tlatelolco has as yet been found.

The buildings described remained in good condition until the fatal days of 1859-1860 when government-church relations resulted in violence, destruction, and confiscation. The ancient inscription on the façade, "Collegium Universitatis," today has been changed to "Independence Quarter."³

At the time of its suppression the Franciscan university had its maximum number of academic halls with chairs in Spanish

¹Fr. Vicente Rodriguez, O.F.M., "La real y pontificia universidad de Celaya (1624-1859)," Paz y Bien, I, No. 2 (July, 1944), 47-52.

²Ibid., p. 50.

³Ibid.

grammar, Latin and French, logic, metaphysics, ethics, world literature, mathematics, physics, religion, Sacred Scripture, and scholastic theology. As a pontifical university it followed the constitutions of the Order as authorized by the Holy See, while as a royal university it operated under the governmental instruction issued for the office of the secretary of the royal and pontifical university of Mexico in the City of Celaya.¹ There were also individual statutes for the rector, the vice-rector, the regent of studies, and the master of students and the faculty. The evolution of these administrative offices seems to have paralleled the growth of the institution from collegiate to university status.

It is singularly unfortunate that in the destruction of the university registers and the library, there perished the records of alumni and the works by which posterity could have evaluated the attainment of the objectives of one of the earliest, if not the first, Franciscan university in Spanish North America. One of its greatest lights was Fray Antonio Linaz, O.F.M., who was a leader in the founding of and administration of the Franciscan mission college for training the Order's personnel in North America.² Certainly, the founders of the college did not envision the destruction of their efforts by the changed mentality of the middle nineteenth century relative to the establishment and preservation of an enlightened Christian social order.

The absence of Franciscan professors from the University of Mexico until 1662 is very difficult to explain especially when scholars like Sahagun, Molina, Olmos, and others of similar calibre could have won fame through their scholarly productivity at the great seats of higher learning in Europe. Were they deliberately excluded or did they refuse offers because they intended to devote their talents and energies to the Indians more or less exclusively? The royal and pontifical university of Mexico, sometimes referred to as the Mexican Academy was founded on September 22, 1551, by a Dominican, Fray Pedro de la Pena and two Augustinians, Fray Alonso de la Veracruz and Fray Pedro Jimenez.³ It was under the patronage both of Pope Julius III and

¹Ibid., p. 51.

²Ibid.

³Fr. Agustin de Vetancurt, O.F.M., Teatro Mexicano, II,

King Charles V. According to Vetancurt, writing in 1697-1698, there were some twenty-three chairs of learning, including sacred theology, scripture, canon law, civil law, Clementine institutes, medical methods, anatomy, surgery, philosophy, astrology, aztec and otomi languages. Students of grammar had to attend the Jesuit college of Sts. Peter and Paul, a Dominican taught Thomism, while Scotistic philosophy and theology were presented by a Franciscan. The inauguration of a chair of Scotus at the University of Mexico was effected on the advice of Don Francisco de la Cueva, duke of Albuquerque, who requested this of the king on June 21, 1658 and received the royal confirmation on July 8, 1662. According to Vetancurt the following Franciscans served as lectors before 1698: Juan de Torres, Miguel de Aguilera, Diego Trujillo, and José Sanchez.¹

There were other less noteworthy attempts of Franciscans to venture into the field of advanced education such as Tejada's classical school for boys in Florida,² and the short-lived El Colegio de San Miguel, founded in 1531 by Friars Juan de San Miguel, O.F.M., and Antonio de Lisboa, O.F.M., at Guayangareo, near Valladolid, the present Morelia.³ When Bishop Quiroga's college of San Nicolás was placed under Jesuit direction and transferred to Valladolid, the little Franciscan institution seems to have been swallowed up in the merger effected with San Nicolás in 1581.⁴ In addition to colleges open to seculars such as Tlatelolco, Celaya, and Coyoacán which, according to a manuscript in the possession of Lic. Federico Gomez de Orozco, was conducted by the Franciscans on funds provided by the will of Cortés, the Friars Minor trained their own personnel in numerous closed houses of study. These will be considered with the mission colleges in a later chapter.

316, Mexico, 1697-1698, published as Tomo VIII, Biblioteca historia de la Iberia, Mexico, 1871.

¹Ibid., III, 143. ²Shea, op. cit., I, 469-470.

³Eduardo Enrique Rios, Fray Juan de San Miguel, Fundador de Pueblos, p. 30. Mexico, 1943; George I. Sanchez, The Development of Higher Education in Mexico, p. 61. New York: King's Crown Press, 1944.

⁴Julián Bonavit, Historia del Colegio Primitivo y Nacional de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, pp. 47-61. Morelia, Departamento de Extensión Universitaria, 1940.

Judging merely from the known records without relying too much on others that will probably be discovered by later investigators, it must be concluded that a great deal of solid work was done in the field of higher education for both whites and Indians by the Franciscans of Spanish North America. A real policy comparable to the Franciscan system of common elementary Indian schools, or to the Jesuit¹ ideal of higher education for the non-Indians in New Spain, is not readily discernible in the opportunistic and somewhat sporadic Franciscan attempts to supply the need for higher education in those areas and among those peoples, who otherwise would have been unable to move upward socially, and thus could not have been represented among the leaders of the emerging nation.

¹Jerome V. Jacobsen, S.J., Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1938; George I. Sanchez, The Development of Higher Education in Mexico, pp. 51-54, 74-75. New York: King's Crown Press, 1944; Irma Wilson, Mexico, A Century of Educational Thought, pp. 24-25. New York: The Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1941.

CHAPTER XI

CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS

The new educational goals introduced by the Franciscans into Spanish North America naturally altered the old aboriginal school curriculum, since they were attuned to the process of changing human beings to become Christian subjects rather than idolatrous warriors. The value judgments of what should constitute the good life for the natives had been imported mainly from Catholic Spain, but the process of transplantation into a non-traditional environment required not only the changing of so many thousands of individuals, but the building of a new social order according to the value system then prevalent in Western Europe. The plan to develop and stabilize this new society, therefore, had to include the complete environment of living, and did not merely mean the dissemination of new teachings together with reading, writing, and other means of communication.

From previous discussions we can summarize four general objectives of Franciscan participation in the conquest of Spanish North America, namely:

1. The conversion of the natives.
2. The building of a Spanish Christian social order.
3. Promoting the social mobility of the natives.
4. Providing for a more abundant and enriched individual and social living.

It is not too difficult to see that a certain amount of conflict exists in these educational aims, especially between the objective to promote the Indians' best welfare and at the same time transplant the European's cultural heritage. Adjustment was consequently required in curriculum and methods so that the multiple functions of the new schools would not clash so frequently and abruptly as to arouse open hostility on the part of the natives or the conquistadores.

For this reason also, and for others of simple convenience, the friars usually insisted on having complete charge of the school children, so that they could train them in habits and atti-

tudes which were, on the one hand, favorable to the Christian conquerors, but, on the other hand, were adjusted to the psychology and condition of the natives. A fine example of this adjustment is to be found in the teaching of reading and writing Christian doctrine through hieroglyphs, invented by the Franciscan Jacobo Testéra, especially for the Indians who had had experience with picture writing. These will be considered in later paragraphs.

On the various levels of the Franciscan educational system there does not seem to have been much emphasis on learning experiences which might promote critical thinking, except in as far as criticisms of the old order were injected into the curriculum by word or example. Socially shared activities, such as participation in liturgical functions, choral groups, orchestras and bands, fiestas, religious dramas and dances, and confraternities were rather common, and served to provide an emotional overtone to many of the drab and more repetitious drill methods, so that interest and attention could be held and favorable appreciations and attitudes developed. These confraternities provide a good example of the use of organizations for personal-social adjustment as well as in "follow-up" purposes.¹

While the curriculum was organized on the basis of subject matter rather than on learning situations, this defect was, perhaps, greatly mitigated, because Franciscan planning refused to differentiate sharply between the schools, the church, the home, or any other social institutions. This close association emphasized sharply the contrasts between idolatrous worship and Christian worship, polygamy and monogamy, human sacrifice and the sacrifice of the mass, revenge and forgiveness, lying and truthfulness, and a host of other relationships and conditions. Prior to baptism the neophytes were given only essential instruction which was later supplemented through practical situations and more systematic catechetics.

Stress on the giving of good example seems to have been characteristic of the Franciscan technique. This is not surprising, since St. Francis himself in the third chapter of his rule stresses the importance of exemplary conduct in these words:

And I counsel, admonish and exhort my friars in the Lord Jesus Christ, that when they go through the world, they neither

¹Mendieta, op. cit., pp. 418-421.

quarrel nor contend in words, nor judge others; but let them be gentle, peaceful and modest, meek and humble, speaking uprightly to all as it becometh.¹

This exhortation to the practice of the social virtues among men, through rational self-control, was seconded by a severe condemnation of those who "by their bad example tear down" and bring to naught the constructive efforts of others.² In the various areas and decades illustrated in the chapter on mass education constant reference was made to the inculcation of buenas costumbres since words teach, but example captivates.³

The psychology behind the Franciscan method of good example was the creation of an environment in which the leaders themselves set the pace, not in word and persuasion alone, but in actual practice. Mendieta and his provincial council found it necessary at times to protest to the king, that the injustices, cruelties, and bad example of Spanish government officials and soldiers greatly endangered the success of the educational program directed by the Franciscans from their headquarters at Toluca.⁴

The teaching of reading, writing, and counting to the masses, besides enriching the lives of the individuals taught, also helped in the dissemination of the new value system. Armed with these fundamental skills, many of the graduates were able to read and interpret to their illiterate parents and tribesmen the catechisms, calendars, and instructional materials written by the friars in the native idiom. Those who learned to write with efficiency in Indian, as well as in Spanish, were trained to meet a vocational objective by qualifying as scribes and secretaries to local Spanish officials. This increased the social mobility of the race, since as Mendieta reports, some of these Indians who had advanced training even became magistrates and judges; at least one, Antonio Valeriano, became a governor.⁵

¹Ilg, op. cit., p. 70.

²Ibid.

³"Letter of His Majesty, Jan. 24, 1575" according to Vazquez, op. cit., I, 228.

⁴"Carta del padre Fray Jeronimo de Mendieta al rey Don Felipe II," Toluca, October 8, 1565, Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España, Nueva colección de documentos para historia de Méjico, I, 31-45.

⁵Mendieta, Historia eclesiastica Indiana, p. 416.

That certain health habits may have entered into the curriculum can merely be surmised from the close relation which existed between the infirmaries and the schools in Mexico City. The instruction, apparently, was quite informal, although we have evidence that Fray Sahagun directed the medical studies of several students at the Indian college of Tlalotelco.

The Codice Franciscano makes reference to a certain amount of nursing education; the friars erected hospitals in many localities according to the custom prevalent in Europe, not only to cure and heal, but also "thereby to instruct the Indians in the practice of charity and the works of mercy which they were to perform for their neighbor and that there might be in these hospitals a staff for the service of the sick" ¹ The Badianus Manuscript or Aztec Herbal, written by Indian students of Friar Sahagun at Holy Cross College in Tlalotelco, gives evidence that the valuable knowledge of botany and of medicinal remedies possessed by the native physicians was incorporated into the curriculum and made available in the Latin phonetic alphabet. ²

The recreational skills and play activities which were supervised by the friars at St. John Lateran School and the modified ritualistic dances, pageants, tableaux, and pantomimes, permitted and encouraged on festive occasions, were opportunely woven into the school program as co-curricular activities. These latter experiences, through active sensation and emotional association with the new order, served to satisfy basic psychological needs for success and self-expression, while, at the same time, they helped in developing an appreciation for Western European culture. Similarly, the teaching of vocal and instrumental music, of painting and sculpture, were associated with real life to such an extent that remunerative employment was given to those who were quite proficient. Choric chant was emphasized in the Zaca-técas province; many pupils taught music in the pueblos where the churches were without organ. ³

While the learning experiences, designed to convey meaningful information to the masses, were quite catechetical and re-

¹Codice Franciscano, p. 73.

²For a fuller treatment of this Aztec Herbal see the chapter on "Franciscan Textbooks and Productive Scholarship."

³Arlegui, op. cit., p. 116.

stricted largely to Christian doctrine, the program of studies in the advanced institutions of learning incorporated Latin, grammar, logic, rhetoric, some medicine, usually Spanish, a little philosophy and theology, and, perhaps, a smattering of other arts and sciences. These were especially designed for the training of personnel to become assistants to the friars and leaders in their own communities. Through the confessional and frequent informal association of pupils and teachers, at least in the men's schools, a certain measure of personal guidance was also provided.

The curriculum of the apostento bajo was quite elementary: reading, singing, writing, religion. The methods employed bear a likeness to the modern "learning by doing" and "activity program" techniques (sobre todo su doctrina era más de obra que por palabra).¹ Working under laboratory conditions in regions where formal institutionalized education was unknown, the friars had little trouble in creating learning situations designed to give the child the experiential background necessary for basic understandings, skills, and attitudes. This was particularly true in religious education. Being in residence at the mission schools, the pupils became intimately associated with the liturgical services and the practices of daily Christian living. Living a Christian life helped them to form Christian habits. In some areas, orthography, punctuation, letter writing, and industrial arts were part of the essential curriculum.²

Domestic duties, such as preparing meals, washing clothes, and ministering to the other wants of the children in these true schools of the people were cared for by the mothers of the pupils. This was, perhaps, done on a co-operative basis, as is frequently the case with modern parent-teacher groups who supervise cafeterias and prepare meals and clothes for special occasions. In many resident elementary schools, according to Mendieta, the pupils often sent their clothes home to be washed and mended.³

The appellations "schools of the people" or "schools for all the boys of all the people" for the elementary schools in the more populous centers are justifiable, if we give credence to

¹Mendieta, op. cit., p. 217.

²Arpide, op. cit.

³Mendieta, op. cit.

Mendieta's enrollment figures; and there is no known reason for deception or error on his part. In each centrally located school there were pupil enrollments ranging from six hundred to one thousand boys. This necessitated the employment of a monitorial system in which older youth or adults functioned mainly as caretakers and guides for student groups. Disciplinary problems were reduced to a minimum, because at all times during the whole day--whether they were at play or prayer, meals, or study--the boys were under the mediate supervision of at least one or other of the friars whom they seemed to have revered for their own sakes, as well as by mandate of the civil authorities.¹

School life was well regulated, although it certainly was skewed toward a religious emphasis. This might be explained in view of the main educational objective: the conversion of the nation from paganism to a Christian social order. Furthermore, since the pupils were to teach Christianity to their parents and relatives by word and example, they, above all, had to be thoroughly grounded in religion both as a creed and as a way of life. The pupils, through the agency of the school, were to become the boy civilizers of New Spain.

The environment of the classroom showed the spirit of the institution. A picture or statue of the Blessed Savior or of the Holy Virgin usually occupied a conspicuous position. The instructional materials employed in reading and writing were chosen largely on a religious basis, although Sahagun's works leave little room for doubt that the Indian pupils must have come in very close contact with visual illustrations and written materials designed to give them a rather creditable knowledge also of the Aztec social order and the non-Christian civilization and culture from which they were now emerging.² While it is true that Sahagun's monumental work was not completed until 1577, it was in process of composition during the previous thirty years, and certainly must have influenced the curriculum of these public schools, even though it might rightly be argued that only the "innocuous" ele-

¹Ibid.

²Sahagun, Historia de las cosas de Nueva España. Written during the years 1558 and 1559 and preserved in the Codice Florentino and Codice Matritense. Eight volumes. Madrid: Fototipia de Hauser y Menet, 1905-1907.

ments of the pre-Cortesian culture were taught.

The schedule followed by the young boys in these popular and compulsory institutions of elementary education more closely approximates that traditionally required of the oblato in the medieval monastic schools. The oblato differed from the externo in this, that the former's education prepared them to become monks while the latter were to follow some secular pursuit.

The Indian boys in the Franciscan public schools of sixteenth-century Mexico rose at midnight to chant or recite the matins of the divine office; during the day they practiced other exercises of piety. They learned many of their prayers in Latin, attended daily mass, and, since they were to teach others, they received a thoroughgoing instruction in Christianity which was compared and contrasted with the traditional religion of the land.

Though it is true that few of the Indian boys became friars, it cannot be concluded that the curriculum lacked functionality. A nation was to be inducted into a different culture. It was not simply a matter of introducing the young into the civilization of their own parents. Consequently, many thoroughly trained teachers were necessary, even though the number of friars was limited. It was imperative that these teachers be religious teachers, well-equipped in religious knowledge and well-trained in Christian habits of life to accomplish the tremendous task. This explains, even though not entirely, why the Franciscans constructed a curriculum which to us seems designed more for religious men of the cloister than for secular men of affairs. Religion was the core value in the culture they were attempting to introduce.

Parent education through the children played a vital part in the work of Christianizing the natives. Properly to acquaint these children with the heritage of Christianity, the friars had to give them the necessary facility in reading and writing; for their illiterate parents a living religion was indispensable. Judged in the light of modern educational psychology these common schools met both needs with a curriculum which emphasized works rather than words. Mere knowledge cannot change a social order, but enlightened action can influence it immensely.

The evaluation of the curriculum offerings in terms of planned outcomes is well given in the humble language of Mendieta. Recognizing the permanent conversion of the natives to Christianity

the friars consciously chose formal institutionalized education, in preference to preaching, as a means of changing a way of life. Through such books as the Doctrina Cristiana of Pedro de Gante and enthused by the inspiration of their days spent in company with their teachers, whom they taught their language and customs, the young men of the tribe became the real instruments of conversion, the real evangelizers and preachers, the real destroyers of idolatry in Mexico. To quote the chronicler directly:

Therefore, according to the same plan designed for effecting the conversion of this new world (which in population outnumbered that of the apostles), there was no other instrument than the children (no por otro instrumento sino de niños), since the children were also the teachers of the evangelizers (maestros de los evangelizadores). The children were eventually the preachers, and the children were the ministers for the destruction of idolatry.¹

Four centuries attest to the wisdom of the missionaries in using the schools to revolutionize and remake Mexican society. While the policy pursued took vision and zeal it also required a great deal of patience and humility. Fortunately, the natives, especially the Aztecs and the Mayas, were found highly educable. It would have been easier, and, perhaps, regarded more in keeping with their dignity and learning, if the friars had preached mainly to the adult population. Patiently they set themselves to learning a strange tongue whose grammar and dictionary they themselves had to compose while conversing with the natives. Once these instruments of correct and efficient communication were fashioned, they humbly sought to effect attitudinal and behavior changes in the children, the most potentially dynamic elements in the population. To insure the permanence of these changes they worked at them systematically through an institutionalized agency (e.g., the apostento bajo) that was close to the masses, and through methods in which "to learn" meant "to live." These popular schools in their curriculum and outcomes did not mirror the social order in which they began to exist, but through their graduates changed that social order.

The open conflict between the objectives of the Franciscan schools and native culture resulted in some bitterness between the Christian students and the devotees of pagan gods and the

¹Mendieta, op. cit., p. 221.

medicine men, which at times resulted in actual bloodshed. Thus one of the pupils, Christopher by name, who attended the apostento bajo at Tlaxcala, was put to death by his own father, an Indian warrior of note, who in a frenzy of drink saw the overzealous youth destroying the idols on his premises. Such instances were not infrequent; the chroniclers refer to such youths as martyrs.

All the violence in this head-on collision between these schools and the social order was not on one side. Mendieta, who may sometimes be accused of indulging in superlatives, shows his fairness in this controversy by narrating an incident which shows how easily imprudent religious enthusiasm can overstep its desired mark. The pupils at Tlaxcala noticed a pagan priest preaching and praying before his idol in the market place of that city. They staged a protest demonstration which soon assumed riotous proportions. When the soldiers arrived on the scene the idol had been smashed and the priest murdered. When their teachers remonstrated vehemently the pupils replied that they had slain a devil, not a man (que no era hombre, sino demonio).¹

In their attempts to erase idolatry from the old culture the friars would employ dramatic methods. The school children and their teachers participated in the realistic object lesson of the solemn destruction of idols.² While this physical demolition was taking place the pupils would recite or sing Psalm CXIII with special emphasis on the verses.

For our God is in heaven, He does all things that He will
The images of the nations are silver and gold, the works of
the hands of men
They have a mouth and speak not, they have eyes and see not,
They have ears and hear not, they have nostrils and cannot
smell,
They have hands and cannot feel, feet and cannot walk,
they do not utter a sound from their throats
May those who make them become similar to them and all who
confide in them
The house of Israel hoped in the Lord; He is their helper and
their protector.

Educationally speaking, this learning experience breathed realism and drama, and must have vitally assisted the teachers in making the psalm meaningful, while creating antagonistic attitudes

¹Ibid., pp. 235-236.

²D. Lucas Alaman, Disertaciones sobre la historia de la republica Mejicana, II, 153. Mexico, 1844.

toward the idolatrous culture of their forebears.

In summarizing the subject offerings in the elementary schools for the upper class sons it should be remembered that not all branches were taught in each and every apostento bajo. In practically all of the institutions Christian doctrine, reading, writing, and chanting were taught to the pupils who usually sat in a circle around the teacher. Because music was considered an aid to the harmonious elevation of the human spirit it was stressed in a variety of forms; instrumental instruction on guitars, flutes, clarions, violins, and other string and wind instruments, as well as organ accompaniment of ecclesiastical choric chant were designed to add luster to the high masses and the vespers in the larger cities, in emulation of the services conducted in the cathedrals of Spain.¹ Minstrel singing and ritualistic dancing, according to native rhythms, were also encouraged, especially as the pagan festive rites were transmuted into the Christian fiestas. So that both boys and girls might learn the chants and the dances financial help was frequently sought in the reports so that two chapels might be provided, one for women and the other for men.²

The girls were usually instructed in a more limited curriculum by the brighter native boys in the open-air patio schools or in various available towers or corners of the main edifice, but always under supervision of one of the friars or an older person in the village, whose duty it was to see that the children were present in the patio schools each morning. One of the boys from each district was chosen as a leader, centurion, or tribune to lead his group into the patio of the church and assemble the pupils for instruction in prayer and catechism.³

Periodic examinations were held and required to determine "the advance from grade to grade."⁴ After the instruction was successfully terminated the young folk helped their fathers and mothers in the respective works of agriculture or home economy, while some of the boys remained around the mission compound as sacristans, mass servers, porters, and gardeners, seeking to enhance with decorative ornament and landscaping the influential center whence the new social order radiated into the life of the community.

¹Codice Franciscano, pp. 66-69.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

Curriculum at Holy Cross College

The main subjects in the curriculum of Holy Cross Franciscan College in Tlaltelolco were Latin, grammar, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, Sacred Scripture, and some natural history which included, primarily, medicinal remedies.¹ The students seem also to have been well versed in their own idioms. The fine arts, especially painting and music, also found a place in the advanced curriculum.²

Though the college consistently followed the policy of teaching Latin to the Indians, as one of the more important subjects in the program of studies, it soon found itself involved thereby in a severe curriculum dispute occasioned by outside pressure groups. Don Antonio de Mendoza had proved himself very favorable by his attitude and financial contribution as well as by his non-interference in the internal administration and curriculum of the institution. But, his successor as viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, allowing himself to be swayed by race prejudice, stopped giving rents to the college for the maintenance of Indian students in the Latin courses. The emperor, however, came to the rescue of the struggling institution by making an outright annual gift of between 200 and 300 ducats. In his death the college lost another strong patron, and soon found itself not only without security, but in the midst of a dispute of the first magnitude raging between influential Spaniards and the college faculty. Curiously enough, the dispute which shook the foundations of Tlaltelolco and endangered the very life of the institution, was a matter of curriculum policy which in the eyes of moderns would represent a very clear violation of academic freedom.

From its inception Santa Cruz College selected its students carefully, using as its criterion the liberal arts curriculum, and emphasizing the mastery of the Latin tongue, which for Renaissance times and a Catholic institution was a thoroughly functional procedure. Having in mind the development of liberally

¹Steck, El primer colegio, pp. 25-26; Mendieta, Historia, p. 48; García Icazbalceta, "Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun," loc. cit., p. 181.

²Manuel Romero de Terreros, Historia sintetica del arte colonial de Mexico, pp. 49-50. Mexico, 1922; Gabriel Saldivar, Historia de la musica en Mexico, pp. 87-107. Mexico, 1934.

educated native lay leaders as well as a native clergy, the Franciscan faculty held firmly to their practice of teaching the Indians to read, speak, and write Latin which was still the common language of the Christian European cultural tradition.

Rationalizing about their race superiority, the Spanish opponents of the friars seem to have offered two reasons why the teaching of Latin to the Indians should be prohibited. The first was that the teaching of Latin would not advance the cause of the Spanish republic.¹ In refutation of this charge the friars could have adduced a multitude of evidence, showing how their graduates were of remarkable assistance as scribes, secretaries, and judges in both civil and ecclesiastical administration. Mendieta comments on the work of Tlaltelolco's alumni citing in particular the alumnus Antonio Valeriano who, as an Indian governor of Mexico City, won the great acclaim and admiration of the natives and Spaniards alike.² The Badianus Manuscript or Aztec Herbal of 1552 gives evidence of Latin productive scholarship in the preservation of native plant knowledge and medicinal remedies on the part of two Holy Cross Indian alumni, Martin de la Cruz and John Badianus.³

The second alleged reason was, that a knowledge of Latin would lead the Indians into heresies and errors of all sorts.⁴ This line of reasoning was based on the refusal of many Spanish colonists to recognize the equality of the natives, and harmonized with their intentions to keep them in subjection, if not through slavery, then at least through ignorance. The Franciscans easily refuted that fallacious and illogical contention by placing the ability of the Indians on a par with that of the Spaniards, thus pointing the way to that democratic ideal which proffers equality of opportunity to at least a modicum of those who can profit thereby, irrespective of race and color. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain the absence of systematic

¹Geronimo López, "Carta al emperador, 20 de octubre de 1541," Colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 148-150.

²Mendieta, op. cit., p. 416.

³This work will be treated at some length in the chapter on "Franciscan Textbooks and Productive Scholarship."

⁴Lopez, op. cit.

Spanish from the curriculum, except we infer that the Franciscans felt that a knowledge of Spanish on the part of the natives would lead to secular domination of the Mexican scene, or that sufficient Spanish could be acquired incidentally.¹

The sides taken in this dispute reveal quite clearly whether the individuals concerned came to New Spain to domineer or to elevate the conquered tribes. It is true that even among the religious there were some who opposed the retention of Latin in the college curriculum, but their reasoning grew out of an emotional fear that the Indians were acquiring the ability to notice and correct mistakes made in Latin prayers and the liturgical services.² One can readily understand why a priest whose Latin had been ridiculed by some native students at Holy Cross College would have little sympathy for promoting Latin studies among them. But, it certainly remains to the credit of the friars that they stood firmly behind the academic policy of not allowing outside pressure groups to dictate to the faculty on matters of curriculum, and that they had such a firm belief in racial equality of opportunity, as to work for the elevation and improvement of the natives by imparting the essentials of the European heritage to the Indian leaders.

As a result of this vitriolic contest many of the faculty became dispirited, especially when they found themselves burdened with financial problems and the administration of the temporalities of the institution. This was conducive neither to learning nor spirituality, and soon much of the enthusiasm for advanced Indian education was gone.³ Such results were particularly unfortunate since the institution under the inspiration of Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., had been enlarged in size and student body. But, apparently, what the friars were doing was not in harmony with the dictates of those who desired the power controls of the new social order.

¹Robert Ricard, "Le college indigène de Santiago Tlaltelolco" in Etudes et documents pour l'histoire de Espagne et du Portugal, p. 156. Louvain, Belgium, 1930.

²Motolinia, op. cit., p. 215; Mendieta, Historia, p. 417.

³Mendieta, Historia, pp. 417-418.

Celaya Curriculum and Franciscan Teaching Methods

The Franciscan university at Celaya which was attended by white religious and secular students offered the usual advanced curriculum found in similar European schools, namely, grammar and the other liberal arts and sciences, philosophy, and theology.¹ Since, as far as is known, very few full-blooded Indians were enrolled, the university had only an indirect influence on the social order in as far as it prepared leaders for guiding the aborigenes in their acceptance of the transplanted ideology and culture of Christian Spain.

The Spanish empire, which had become truly world-wide by the end of the seventeenth century, sought to secure first-hand acquaintance with the diversity of talent and acumen among natives of all conquered territories. The first teachers of the Aztecs were quick to remark that the boys grasped the doctrines of Christianity with considerable ease. Even though many of the Latin prayers were taught to large groups, individual pupils committed them to memory in a very few days. Mendieta states that some boys would immediately repeat the Lord's prayer after its recitation by the teacher, who would commonly divide it into appropriate sections, thus using the part rather than the whole method of instruction.² Though the evidence concerning the whole-part method is somewhat conflicting, modern educational psychologists³ would point out that its disadvantages consist in linking the end of each section with the beginning of the identical section, instead of facilitating the connection between the end of one part with the beginning of the following part. Most probably memorization of prayers and poetic selections would have been more effective with the brighter students, had attention been placed mainly on the whole method, reserving particular repetitions only for the more difficult selections.

Though the Aztecs were a bright people and thus differed greatly in intellectual acumen from such tribes as the California "diggers," there were many among them of a more common and rural

¹El Breve, loc. cit., fols. 13-15.

²Mendieta, op. cit., p. 246.

³Guy T. Buswell, Visual Outline of Educational Psychology, p. 56. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939.

background, who lacked the ingenuity required to profit from the method just described. These were homogeneously grouped, so that proper adjustments could be made for these slow learners (buscaban otros modos, cada uno conforme á como mejor se hallaba).¹ Apparently the friars worked on the theory that scholastic success is more a matter of time and motivation, than it is a matter of mental brightness. These slower children who actually lacked readiness to comprehend abstract truths and to pray for supernatural gifts, required that the educational techniques employed associate spiritual realities with known sensate things. Their teachers effected such associations, but they were so unfortunately forced and strained that the procedure would ordinarily result in rote memorization with little guarantee of understanding. Thus, when learning the words of a prayer, each concept or phrase was presented as a grain of corn; if a prayer or doctrine of the catechism contained a dozen phrases, twelve grains would be counted out, each to represent one phrase. As the child picked up each grain he recited the appropriate phrase. This was done until even the slowest child had committed all phrases to memory.² In most areas of Spanish North America the Indians were made to memorize in Spanish the main prayers and points of doctrine contained in the catechetical texts. Thus, in Texas, where the government demanded the use of Spanish and the friars often employed Indian interpreters because of the numerous dialects, we find that the Franciscans had the Indians assemble periodically for community prayer meetings and instruction. During these assemblies they recited in common what they had previously committed to memory, namely, the Spanish versions of the "Lord's Prayer," "Hail Mary," "Apostles Creed," "Way of the Cross," the "Ten Commandments," the "Seven Sacraments," the "Four Last Things," and the "Articles of Faith."³

Still others were taught in a third distinct way. Latin words to be memorized were associated with that Aztec word which in pronunciation most closely resembled the Latin term. Thus the Indian words pantli nochtli were used to designate pater noster. Now, pantli means "twenty" and nochtli signifies a local variety

¹Mendieta, op. cit., p. 246.

²Ibid.

³O'Rourke, op. cit., p. 87.

of "pear." The pupils, following the directions and example of their instructors, would draw or paint the object "pear" with the appropriate numeral; thus a new idea or concept was arbitrarily symbolized. As further prayers and doctrines were taught, and the Indians wrote them down in an analogous picture language, the Latin oral equivalents were committed to memory. The writing done in the classrooms was quite primitive and hieroglyphic in character; it must, however, have been effective, since many of the boys learned to recite and speak both Latin and Spanish with a measure of success.¹

Though the profession of teaching is old, very few teachers have ever been faced with an experimental school situation which demanded greater resourcefulness. Under laboratory conditions the friars had first to learn the Aztec language from the Indian children; after compiling vocabularies and building grammars they had to set the content of their instruction into the Aztec idiom, but to make sure the concept conveyed was the one desired, it was considered necessary that Latin and Spanish materials be read and memorized. This is evident from the construction of the various catechisms on Christian doctrine, such as those of Ghent and Zumárraga.

In many ways this tri-lingual approach must have been confusing to both teachers and pupils, since the identical object (whether real or painted), or printed character, could frequently have designated three distinct ideas and three distinct oral expressions, one in Aztec, one in Latin, and one in Spanish. The heroic effort required in the use of these learning crutches probably did not result in adequate understandings, even though a certain measure of proficiency was attained in oral and written expression. One must remember, none-the-less, that these curious and cumbersome approaches were employed especially in the very early days of educational pioneering, and were used only with the slower groups. Furthermore, since interests can be generated as well as pursued, it sometimes happens that seemingly wasteful effort does result in permanent interest, enthusiasm, and knowledge. The evaluation of results achieved by the friars will indicate that "the hard way" was, in this instance, an effective and practical way.

¹Mendieta, op. cit., Lib. IV, cap. xv, p. 414.

Before the coming of the Spaniards, the Aztecs had already reached a high level of proficiency in the mechanical arts. Many were expert stone cutters, some used cement; their carpenters and sculptors worked with copper instruments; the cornice effect was employed in not a few of their buildings. Much of their industrial work was decorative, as can be seen from the paintings and feather designs which were considered worthy to be presented to princes, kings, and popes.¹

In some piezas (rooms) and apostentos (apartments) where a great deal of formal instruction went on, space and rooms, respectively, were set off for the teaching of Spanish industrial arts hitherto unknown in New Spain. These flourished particularly in Ghent's famous school in Mexico City. As a lay-brother in his Order, Pedro de Gante was more closely acquainted with manual trades, and his good sense taught him that, in order to be truly civilized, it is important to be able to contribute to the world's work. His vocational curriculum at Mexico City included tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, printing, painting, and similar trades and arts. In much of this work Brother Pedro was assisted by competent confreres. Thus an Italian lay-brother, Friar Daniel, who had been educated in Spain, brought the art of fine embroidery into the American colony. He and his pupils produced some of the rarest, most beautiful, ornamental, and at the same time inexpensive decorative pieces of those early days.² In many centers of population both friars and Spanish laymen taught the Indians those vocational skills necessary for construction work while the buildings were in process of erection and at the precise time when these techniques could best be employed by the natives. O'Rourke, who studied the Franciscan missions in Texas as a unit, found that, despite the laziness of the Texas tribes,³ the Friars Minor supervised their activities around the mission centers and that many natives had a respectable knowledge of agriculture and the more practical trades of civilized life, such as pottery, carpentry, masonry, the making of shoes, hats, clothes, soap and candles,

¹Ibid., pp. 406-407.

²Ibid., caps. v, xiii, pp. 379, 409.

³Bancroft, Native Races, I, 393-394

hide-tanning, spinning, and blacksmithing.¹

As already indicated in the discussion concerning the native ability of the Aztec tribes, little difficulty was encountered in teaching the sons of the more prominent tribesmen to read in Spanish and Latin, and to write so well that many of them were employed as scribes by those friars who were engaged in writing and translating.

Fray Juan Caro, O.F.M., took cognizance of still another educational means of expression and communication: music.² Finding diversified talent among the pupils of Ghent's school, he organized a four-part choir for the pupils, and taught them the rules of chant, as he accompanied their singing with the organ. Within a short time a four-voiced schola cantorum was organized in the chapel of almost every large school. It had a very functional objective, since it was designed to enhance the liturgical celebration of high mass and other divine services.³

Orchestras were assembled in the principal towns, so that the work of music education was integrated with vocational instruction and the construction and fabrication of such musical instruments as trumpets, flutes, cornets, clarions, and other wind instruments, which made the monthly musicales very gay occasions. Mendieta's enthusiasm on this point leads him to indulge in another superlative when he states: "One thing can be affirmed with truth that in all the kingdoms of Christianity (outside the Indies), there does not exist such an abundance of flutes, clarions, sackbuts, wind instruments, trumpets and kettledrums as is alone found in this kingdom of New Spain."⁴ His testimony is at least partially confirmed by a later complaint of some officials that the Indians were too much occupied with instrumental music. Yet the friars found that music influenced the Indian breast.

That the Indians not only learned rapidly to play these instruments, but also showed themselves capable of conducting orchestras and directing choirs, is evidenced from the fact that they actually functioned as conductors and directors in many of the churches and schools; later on, some composed four-part songs

¹O'Rourke, op. cit., p. 89.

²Mendieta, op. cit., p. 410.

³Ibid., pp. 412-413.

⁴Ibid.

and carols.¹ The following is a list of the musical instruments² which Fray Juan Caro, O.F.M., helped the Indians construct and master:

1. Organos--organs
2. Flautas--flutes
3. Sacabuches--sackbuts
4. Orlos--wind instruments of another variety
5. Rabeles--stringed instruments such as the violin
6. Guitarras--guitars
7. Citaras--zithers
8. Discantes--treble instruments
9. Vihuelas--another variant of the guitar
10. Arpas--harps
11. Monacordios--monochords
12. Trompetas--trumpets
13. Atabales--kettledrums
14. Chirimias--clarions
15. Cornetas--cornets
16. Bajones--bass-viols or bassoons

It was quite customary among the religious to employ what modern educators term visual aids. They taught the doctrines of the Christian faith and, sometimes, also preached to the natives by means of pictures; this technique was quite conformable to the ancient method of communication through picture writing or hieroglyphics, and prepared the Indians for phonetic characters or letters of an alphabet. These pictures whetted their curiosity and aroused and kept their attention, while the instructors sought to adapt even abstruse and objectively difficult concepts to the senses of the audience, realizing that nothing can ordinarily be properly understood except it be previously perceived by the senses.

In 1579 at Perugia Father Didacus Valades, O.F.M., at one time missionary in New Spain and later, procurator general of the Friars Minor, edited a work entitled Rhetorica Christiana in which he illustrated the psychological principles underlying the arts of preaching and teaching from examples, techniques, and experiments taken mainly from those employed by his Franciscan brethren³

¹Ibid., p. 413.

²"Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante a Felipe II, fechada el 23 de junio de 1558," Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, I, 225. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1889.

³Fr. Didacus Valades, O.F.M., Rhetorica Christiana, Perugia, 1579.

in the Indies. Having been an Indian missionary and procurator general of the Order, he certainly was in a position to know a great deal about the activities of the friars in New Spain, and being interested in the psychology underlying the rhetorical arts, he could, quite naturally, critically analyze their methods. After commenting at some length on the importance of sense perception in the learning process, Valades states that the honor of employing ingenious figures and representations suitable to the intelligence of those to be instructed, belongs to members of the family of St. Francis. He is sufficiently cautious and reserved in his encomiums not to ascribe the invention of chalcography (engraving or counter-drawing by means of pressure) to the friars, since it was employed already in very ancient times, but he does claim that its methodical use in teaching through creative representations is Franciscan in origin. The chapter dealing with Franciscan textbooks gives some support to this contention since many of these texts were illustrated. They thus antedate by almost a century the Orbis pictus of Amos Comenius (1592-1671), which is sometimes considered "the first illustrated textbook."¹ This technique of illustration Valades considered well adapted to the Indians who were illiterate, forgetful, but very studious of new concepts pictorially represented.²

The visual aids employed by the friars in teaching the alphabet and calendar to the Indians are graphically illustrated by Valades as shown in the accompanying plates. He was so very exact and detailed in his drawings that only a serious and minute study of them will reveal the painstaking efforts of the original designers. The main letters of the alphabet are symbolized by objects whose formation resembles that of the particular letter, or whose Indian name is voiced in such wise that its beginning sound or syllable is that of the letter in question. Thus, the first letter of the alphabet is taught by showing the figure of an "arc" or a "ladder" or a "compass" while B is represented by an "ignile" or a "lutina," C, by a "horseshoe" and a "horn," and so on with the remaining letters of the alphabet. Valades empha-

¹Adolph E. Meyer, Visual Outline of the History of Education, p. 53. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1935.

²Valades, op. cit., p. 95.

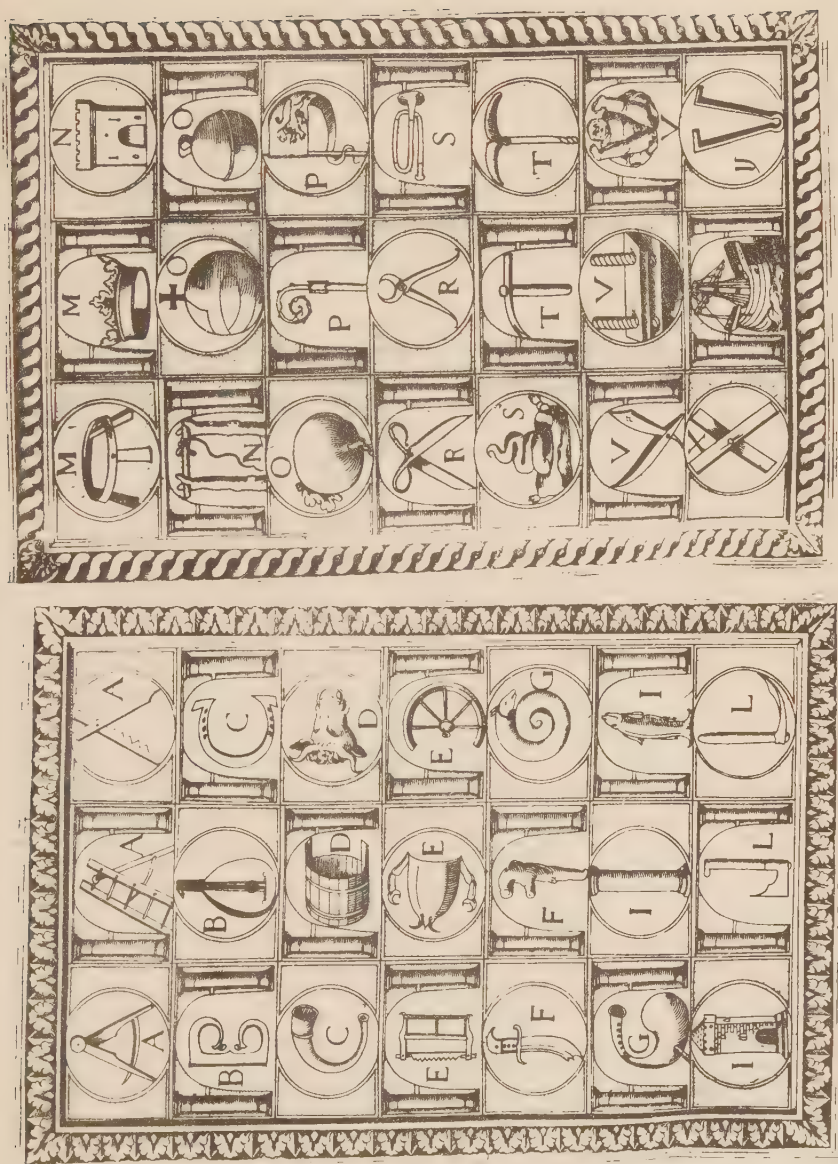


Fig. 20.--Descriptive charts, designed by Fray Valades, to show Franciscan methods of teaching the alphabet by associative shifting from Aztec hieroglyphs to Roman characters. (After Fray Valades, O.F.M., 1579.)

sized the fact, however, that the letters, taken independently, are not to be thought new arbitrary symbols for the objects pictured, but were so presented as to stimulate the imagination and memory of the pupils for the vocal resonance required in expression.¹ After considerable repetition of the identical situation this stimulation was transferred from the object to the letter itself. There were many Indian sounds which could not be expressed by the European alphabet; the letter "X" was greatly overworked. Frequently, also, inflections, declensions, and conjugations were unable to be indicated, so that the objects or combinations of objects could represent only the stems of substantives, verbs, adverbs, or adjectives.

Another prominent difficulty that shows the defect of this highly methodical, but very unnatural, method of learning to read and write, is the fact that many of the concepts of Spanish Christian civilization which were being taught to the natives had no experiential basis for the Indians. Hence, the teachers had to rely a great deal on the law of exercise and the use of drills. The inventors of the method of learning under consideration would today be classified by educational psychologists as connectionists of the Thorndike School, committed to stimulus-response psychology. The more recent educational psychologists are quite critical of the various associationist theories, including the stimulus-response explanation of learning.²

At this stage of the discussion it is important to inquire into the written mode of communication practiced by such tribes as the Aztecs. Vaillant, who has made a fairly penetrating study of Mexican archeology, states that the native pagan priesthood, besides immolating human victims in their sacrifices also performed more peaceful duties such as the instruction of youth "in the mysteries of writing and keeping records."³ He then introduces the reader to those "mysteries":

Aztec writing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with

¹Ibid., p. 100.

²Buswell, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

³George C. Vaillant, *Aztecs of Mexico*, p. 207. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1941.

the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. . . . The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone tena from which sprouted an opal cactus, nochtli, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, pantli, on a conventionalized hill, tepec. . . . Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations for action.

Aztec writing had no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas

Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 x 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 x 20 x 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans.

The drawback of picture writing is its rigidity and its uselessness for the expression of abstract ideas. The cyclical count created great confusion as to the particular cycle in which an event took place. Exact and careful drawing was essential for the glyphs, and a slurred line might result in a totally different reading.

The archeologist, Vaillant, praises the efforts of the friars, who, following the example of Testera, shifted the hieroglyphs into syllabic writing using Christian content materials. When in the course of time the Nahuatl (Aztec) oral expressions were recorded in Roman characters, the Aztec pictographs were better understood, and thus the knowledge we have of Aztec history and customs has been derived through a medium invented by the early missionaries and teachers of the post-conquest period.¹

Learning to read letters, or Indian words composed of letters, was virtually learning a foreign language as far as the tribes of New Spain were concerned. They had an oral language, but their written communication was effected through pictorial representation or hieroglyphics and had never been reduced to letters and words. This was the task of the early missionaries. From the description and charts in the Valades document it would seem that the method employed was not the direct approach as advocated today, since the meaning was not obtained directly from the new foreign symbol without the intervention of the vernacular symbol, namely, the hieroglyphic stimulus. The teaching of read-

¹Ibid., p. 210.

ing words and phrases composed of letters from the new alphabet must have been quite slow and analytical, perhaps quite akin to the traditional process of translating the foreign symbol into the vernacular, which was the Indian hieroglyph, through which alone it became meaningful.

The chronicler Beaumont, who narrates much about the idolatrous worship accorded the 2,000 gods of Technocitlan by the Mexican Indians of 1521, writes that the Franciscans went about "civilizing by means of communication,"¹ and since religion is necessary for any society, they constructed religion hieroglyphs, because the natives had no letters to express their concepts; most of their words were imperatives and monosyllables.

Another grave difficulty which seems to have somewhat imperiled teaching the abstract character of the new printed or written symbols, was the overemphasis placed on the teaching of the individual letters of the alphabet instead of stressing the meaning of words, action phrases, and complete sentences. Breaking down the sentence and analyzing the word into letters is a good logical exercise for those who already can read understandingly, but it is not a psychologically sound method of teaching pupils to read with comprehension.

It is necessary [says Buswell], for the reader to focus his attention upon units of meaning which are larger than single words. In so doing the individual is only reacting visually in the way in which he always reacts to the auditory stimulation which comes from hearing someone speak As far as reading is concerned, the only occasion for giving attention to letters is to make the necessary² discrimination among words which closely resemble each other.

This criticism is not condemnatory of the methods of teaching reading employed in those primitive times, since the very painstaking efforts exerted were experimental, because the hieroglyphs employed were not simply transplanted from Flanders or Spain, but had to be fashioned and used in the light of native experience. The early Franciscan teachers deserve commendation for their courage and inventiveness in undertaking an educational experiment, which, though faulty according to the more recent findings, at-

¹Beaumont, *op. cit.*, II, 467-468, published in Biblioteca Historia de la Iberia, Tomo XVI.

²Buswell, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

tained a certain measure of success through resolute and persistent application.

Neither must it be thought that the Franciscans themselves were unanimous in accepting the method illustrated by Valades; else, whence are the examples of Testerian hieroglyphics located by the writer in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University and in the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, Rhode Island?

The Mexican catechism of Testerian hieroglyphs found in the Peabody Museum came originally from Yucatan, and is one of the few remaining manuscripts of the type of Spanish picture-writing named after Fray Jacobo Testera, O.F.M., who came to Mexico around 1529. Finding himself ignorant of the native idiom and the natives ignorant of Spanish, he took advantage of the Indians' ability to read their own hieroglyphs and wrote a catechism in ideographic representations.¹ According to Tozzer, these pictures were originally painted on large screens (lienizos), as indicated in the chart on page 215, reproduced from Valades.² None of these large screens seems to have survived the ravages of time, but a few manuscripts with pictures drawn on a smaller scale resembling the form of an album are at times found in rare book rooms and museums. Early Franciscans such as Motolinia, Mendieta, Cogolluda, Sahagun, and Torquemada frequently mention this Spanish pictorial method of teaching the Indian to read and to write.³ Certainly, if the alphabetic approach had been efficient the Testerian method would not have been so frequently lauded by Franciscan and other early Spanish writers. This method of teaching, which was also employed by Peter of Ghent as indicated in a previous chapter, had the great advantage of reducing

¹"A Mexican Catechism in Testerian Hieroglyphs in Peabody Museum of Harvard University," fols. 25. Yucatan, late eighteenth-century MS. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

²Alfred Marston Tozzer, "The Value of the Ancient Mexican Manuscripts in the Study of the General Development of Writing," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (new series), XXI (1911), 493-506. Reprint in Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, 1911. Washington, D.C., 1912.

³Motolinia, op. cit., Trat. II, cap. vi; Mendieta, Historia, Lib. V, Parte I, cap. xlii; Cogolluda, Historia de Yucatan, Lib. II, cap. xiii; Lib. VI, cap. xii; Sahagun, Historia general, Lib. XI, cap. xiii; Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana, Lib. V, cap. xxv; Lib. XV, cap. xxxvi.

the mental effort of the natives to the minimum, since it utilized their common method of expression.

On the following page a fragment of the Peabody Museum manuscript is reproduced; the particular section deals with the creed (el Credo), and since this sample of picture writing is boustrophedon, the first or top line is to be read from left to right, while the second is deciphered from right to left, and thus on down the page. The following is at least a close approximation of the meaning of these action pictures which had a great psychological advantage over abstract letters, because, as visual aids to learning, they made a special winsome appeal to children, even as some of our modern primers, action comics, and picture stories of religious heroes arouse interest and hold the attention of readers today.

Line 1 (left to right):

I believe (cross) in God, the Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth;

I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, Who was conceived of the Holy Spirit (dove);

Line 2 (right to left):

Born of Mary, His Mother, who in giving birth remained a virgin (lily);

Was scourged and suffered condemnation under Pontius Pilate;

Line 3 (left to right):

Was crucified, died, and was buried (tomb). He descended (downward position of the ladder);

Into hell (open-mouthed dragon); the third day (three rising suns) he arose from the dead;

Line 4 (right to left):

He ascended (upward position of ladder) into heaven (noon-day sun) and sits at the right hand of God almighty;

Whence he shall come to judge the living;

Line 5 (left to right):

And the dead. I believe (cross) in the Holy Spirit (dove); The church universal, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins;

Line 6 (right to left):

The resurrection of the body from the grave (tombstones) and life everlasting (a final large cross).

The other illustrations refer to the prayer, "Hail, Holy Queen," and the fourteen works of mercy: The seven corporal works of mercy: to clothe the naked, feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, harbor the stranger, visit the sick, redeem the captive, and bury the dead. The seven spiritual works of mercy: to instruct the ignorant, counsel the doubtful, admonish sinners, comfort the



Fig. 23.--Fragment (Creed) of a Mexican catechism in Testierian hieroglyphs. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.)



Fig. 24.--Fragment of pictographic catechism with Spanish translation of the "Hail, Holy Queen," attributed to Fray Sahagun, O.F.M. The original is in the E. Eugene Couplé collection in Paris; reproduction after Eugene Boban's Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique, planche no. 78. Paris, 1890. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.)



Fig. 25.--The fourteen works of mercy in Testertian hieroglyphs. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.)

afflicted, bear wrongs patiently, forgive offenses willingly, pray for the living and the dead.

Another sample of these Testerian hieroglyphs might be taken from the eighteenth-century manuscript of twenty leaves which the author found in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island.¹ This Christian Doctrine seems to be more simply and concretely done; in fact some of its realism might have offended the tastes of a non-primitive people. Leaf eight, picturing the seven sacraments, has been selected for reproduction in this study. Reading from top downward and left to right the translation of the folio would be as follows:

Line 1:

Note that the holy sacraments administered through Mother the Church;

Are seven (the number of circles); the first is the baptism with water;

Line 2:

Which marks one a Christian; the second is confirmation by a bishop;

Making one a courageous Christian soldier; the third is penance;

Line 3:

For transgressions; the fourth is holy communion in which is received;

The body and blood of Jesus Christ (humanity and divinity of Christ the Redeemer);

Line 4:

Through the sacrifice; the fifth is holy unction for the dying;

The sixth, the royal priesthood;

Line 5:

Ordained to offer sacrifice to God for the faithful living and dead;

The seventh, holy matrimony, joins man and wife into one flesh in the bonds of Christian unity.

Another advantage of these pictorial representations whether on large lienzos (screens), or in reduced folio form, was, according to Valades, the fact, that after the oral discussion, the illiterate natives could remain and confer with one another over the more exact meaning of the picture.²

¹"Catechism in Testerian Hieroglyphs in the John Carter Brown Library," fols. 20 (eighteenth century). John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

²Valades, op. cit., p. 95.

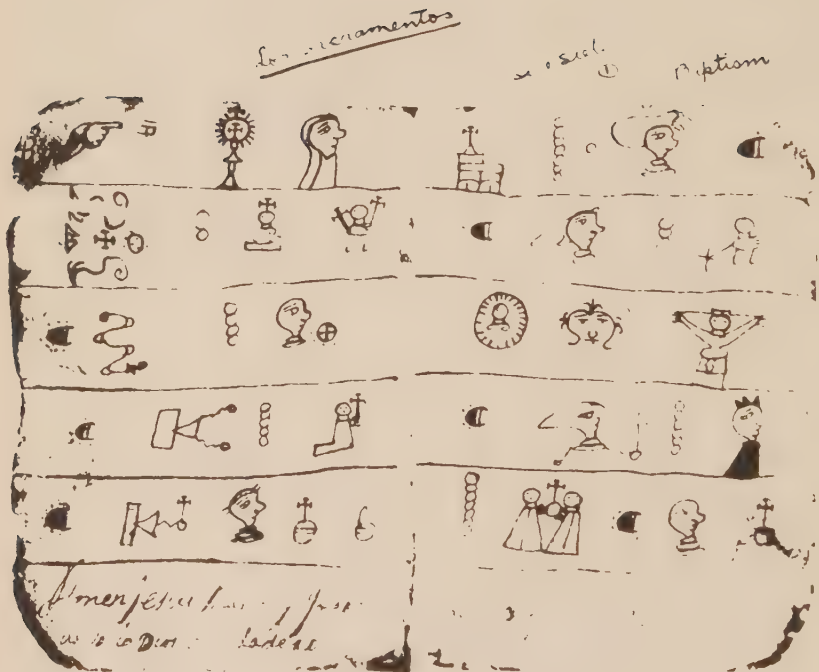


Fig. 26.--Leaf eight of a catechism in Testeterian hieroglyphs. (Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.)

In addition to the catechisms in Testerian hieroglyphs there are also extant some few samples of visual materials designed by the friars to determine time. Some of these specimens of calendars are quite complete, while others are fragments designating the feasts and fasts of the church year. The sample reproduced in the diagram made by Valades was probably inspired by the calendar for 1549 contained in Fray Motolinia's Memoriales.¹ Both are based on eighteen lunar months of twenty days each plus five intercalary days; the thirteen circular tables are based on a total of fifty-two weeks. In 1685 the Franciscans of the Guatemala province published a comparative calendar, a nineteenth-century transcription of which is kept in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.² This calendar collates the Mexican (Aztec) and Guatemalan time divisions of eighteen lunar months of twenty days each, and shows their great degree of similarity. The major portion of the opus is devoted to a detailed comparison of the native calendar with the Gregorian method of reckoning time.

The Aztec calendar found in the appendix of Fray Motolinia's Memoriales was probably intended to help his colleagues arrive at an understanding of the revolving two-hundred-and-sixty-day period designed by the native medicine men as a major division of time. As revealed by a study of the reproduction, there were twenty signs or day-names around each of which thirteen numbers constantly revolved. These day-names pictured in the accompanying illustration were: crocodile, wind, house, lizard, snake, death, deer, rabbit, water, dog, ape, herb, reed, jaguar, eagle, vulture, motion, flint-knife, rain, and flower.³ Each of these day signs is united with a revolving series of numbers from one to thirteen inclusive; thus, they counted their days somewhat as follows: one, crocodile; two, wind; three, house; four, lizard; five, snake; six, death; seven, deer; eight, rabbit; nine, water; ten, dog; eleven, ape; twelve, herb; thirteen, reed. Then began the second series of thirteen: one, jaguar; two, eagle; three, vulture; four, motion; five, flint-knife; six, rain; seven, flower;

¹Fr. Toribio Motolinia, O.F.M., Memoriales, appendix.

²Calendario de los Indios de Guatemala, 1685, Cakchiquel, Copiada en la ciudad de Guatemala, Marzo, 1878. Cambridge, Mass., Preserved in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

³Vaillant, op. cit., pp. 191, 185-210.

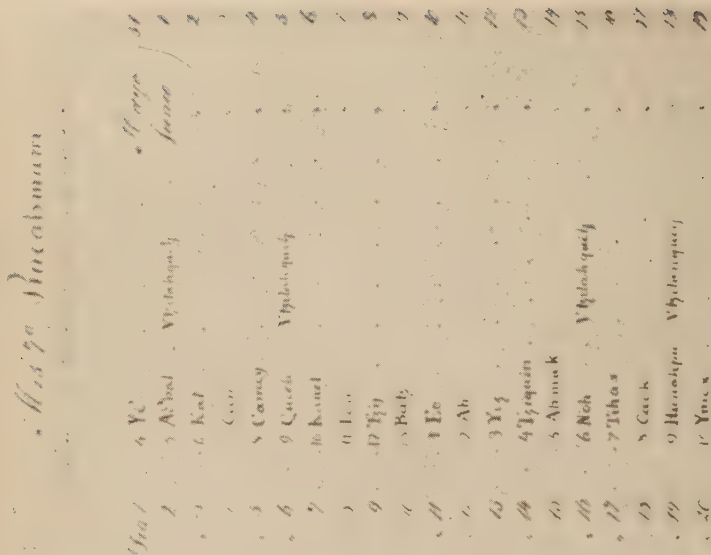


Fig. 28.--Comparative calendar compiled by Franciscans for the Indians of Guatemala, 1685. (This page is reproduced through the courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.)

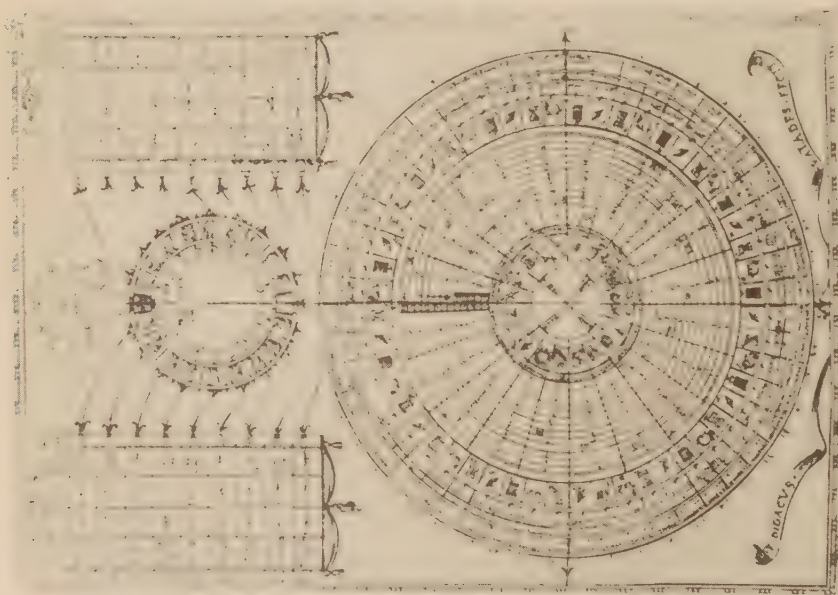


Fig. 27.--Calendar designed and published by Fray Valades, O.F.M., in 1579.

eight, crocodile; nine, wind; ten, house; eleven, lizard; twelve, snake; thirteen, death. Then the third series of thirteen: one, deer; two, rabbit; and so on, until the complete revolution of two hundred and sixty days was made. To these the five intercalary days were added. The Valades diagram also shows the collation between the Aztec calculation and the modern European system, on the basis of eighteen lunar months of twenty days each, making a total of three hundred and sixty days to which the five intercalary days were then added.

The reproduction of a fragment of a Christian calendar kept in the royal library of Berlin illustrates the emphasis placed by the early missionaries among the Aztecs on the teaching of the hieroglyphic aids to help the Indians master the table of feasts and fasts.¹ This particular piece of ideography was probably composed by the friars shortly after the conquest, and is especially noteworthy for its analogies to Egyptian characters and its writing and numbering features. The feast and fast days are indicated by circles each of which represent a unit; the Holy Ghost is represented in the form of the Mexican spirit cozca-quauhtli, thereby giving silent evidence that the missionaries not only tolerated but favored a prudent transfer and re-adjustment of concepts, the symbols being retained rather than destroyed and obliterated, unless these symbols themselves, as in the case of many idols, became objects of worship and adoration. The main feast and fast days represented are probably taken from the "Creed" (second line) and incidents in the lives of Jesus and Mary, such as the "Annunciation," "Espousals of Mary and Joseph," "Crucifixion," and "Pentecost." The sole function of this calendar, as most Mayan codices, was to provide visual aid to the oral instruction given by the friars and other teachers.²

Just as the doctrines of Christianity and the organization of the church were presented ideographically according to the

¹"Fragment d'un Calendrier chrétien tiré des manuscrits aztèques conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Berlin," Planche LVII and p. 283, in Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland, Pt. I, Atlas Pittoresque.

²The writer is indebted for this information to Dr. Robert Redfield and John Adams, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

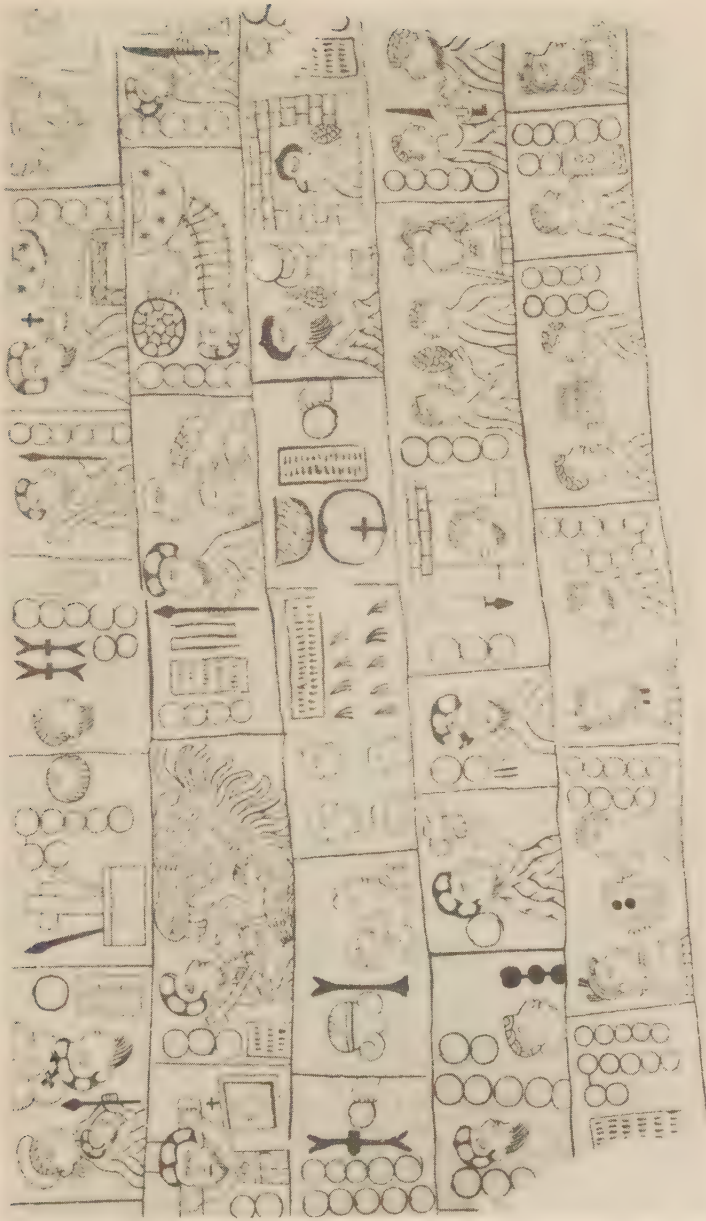


Fig. 30.--Fragment of an Aztec-Christian calendar of Christian feasts and fasts with sections of the Creed. The original is in the royal library in Berlin. (Courtesy of the Humboldt-Bonpland Collection and the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.)

talents and learning experiences common to the natives, thus also did the friars strive to portray in active diagrammatic fashion the proper relations and place of the civil government in the scheme of the new society into which they were being initiated. Valades has drawn a number of charts to show the illustrative devices employed by the friars of New Spain to reduce empty verbalism and enrich experiences of the Indians, enabling them more readily and more correctly to develop even advanced concepts of civil and ecclesiastical matters. The one reproduced in this volume shows the structure and function of the civic hierarchical organization, illustrating, in some detail, line and staff relationships. In the temporal realm father, mother, and family are shown as the roots of the hierarchical tree; in a larger social group, judges, prefects, and pretors are required, while in a still larger society there must be viceroys, governors, and auditors, and in kingdoms and empires, like that of Spain, there are kings whose rule is unified by the most Christian emperor. These are all action pictures which indicate the functions performed by each of the hierarchical members, so as to make the learning experiences of the natives more realistic. In fact, the friars are perhaps open to criticism for emphasizing in so realistic a fashion the dire corporal punishments to be inflicted on recalcitrants who would be found guilty of insubordination.¹ This form of negative motivation was perhaps chosen because of its kinship with the penalties common also in pre-hispanic times, and probably because of its expediency for a people among whom higher attitudes and appreciations were very difficult to form.

These charts, which Valades himself probably perfected, were used by him in his book on rhetoric to show how visual materials can effectively supplement verbal instruction.

Though Vaillant seems to indicate that the present republican government in Mexico might again, through its Indian education program, achieve "the human purpose formulated under the colonial system,"² and successfully accomplished in the early period, it is fairly evident to the interested visitor to Mexico that the current battle against illiteracy has not been institutionalized. Unless the government can finance educational institutions throughout the land to take the places of the church-

¹Valades, op. cit., p. 180.

²Ibid., p. 266.



Fig. 31.--Franciscan method of teaching political structure of new social order. As illustrated by Fray Valades, O.F.M., 1579.

controlled schools which have been suppressed or limited in their activities, the probability of such an achievement will be negatived. Nevertheless, Vaillant does credit the friars with great understanding of the Indian language and customs and considers their studies "admirable."¹ As a direct reflection of interest in Indian affairs he has presented the following figures indicative of the amount of writing on native culture produced by members of various religious and secular groups interested in the welfare of their new charges.²

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number of Writings</u>
Franciscan	68
Dominican.	18
Parish priests	18
Jesuit	19
Augustinian.	3
Civilians.	6

The Franciscans were particularly active in learning the native languages and formulating grammars and building dictionaries of their vocabularies, even though their methods of teaching these languages do not approximate modern expectations. Thus Padre Fray Gonzalo of Guatemala (fl. 1540) who was highly respected for his linguistic ability in organizing and pronouncing the difficult zutugil idiom and in formulating rules of grammar and articulation, resorted to a system of artificial mnemonics in teaching to others the language he himself acquired in the more natural and rapid manner by conversation with the natives.³ The haphazard study of vocabulary, or, even, the translation of dissociated sentences unconnected by a unified strain of thought, tend to reduce interest in the employment of the new medium as an instrument of communication by emphasizing structural form and logical relationships.⁴

Fray Pedro de Betanzos, O.F.M. (fl. 1550), an expert in Guatemalan orthography and pronunciation, whose dictionaries and grammars in the kiché, kacchiquel, and zutugil languages were

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 297.

³Vasquez, op. cit., p. 70.

⁴E. B. de Sauze, The Cleveland Plan for Teaching of Modern Languages, p. 10. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1929.

still being used after 180 years, was more ingenious in emphasizing the functional use of the languages through his "readers" which contained not only prayers and doctrine, but also many stories and tales of adventure.¹ In his vocabularies he stressed things, action phrases, and complete ideas rather than isolated names and numbers. Vazquez surprises the present-day progressive educator by narrating that Friar Betanzos presented to his pupils adventure stories and novels with their corresponding translation "in such variety as to supply for declensions of nouns and conjugations of verbs; neither were there needed other means to bring to the intelligent understanding the idea of active and passive voice, masculine and feminine gender."² In such meaningful repetitions of identical situations in a variety of settings is to be found an ideal toward which many language teachers today strive in their efforts to offset the deadening effects of isolated drills, which occasion a decline in natural interest and attention, and can thrive only through extrinsic motivation. This startling natural method of language teaching did not impede the grammatical organization of the idioms and their reduction to a certain formalism particularly for the use of the friars themselves. Thus substantives are distinguished in their various cases and genders and the parts of speech such as pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals together with time calculations are presented after the traditional fashion which the document itself calls artificioso metodo. Betanzos subscribed to the principle that the possession of a wide vocabulary is prerequisite to the mastery of a language, but he wanted that vocabulary to be acquired naturally through experience.³

While Friar Betanzos was the better psychologist, more interested in the human being learning than in the organization of the subject matter, Friar Francisco de la Parra, O.F.M., showed the superb powers of his logical mind by the invention of an extremely simplified alphabet of but four characters (S. b. f. t.), with which, through a series of permutations and combinations, basic communication in the Guatemalan languages was effected.⁴ It seems, however, that the secret of his system lay, perhaps,

¹Vazquez, op. cit., I, 124-128.

²Ibid., p. 125.

³Ibid., pp. 125-126.

⁴Ibid., II, 216.

more in the manner of pronunciation indicated by the combinations of characters, than in any other single element. He was so well acquainted with the perfection of the native phraseology and the elegance and precision of the tribal mode of speaking, that he identified similar sound combinations, diversified only by slow or rapid speech, harsh guttural, or soft labial colorings, which were used to differentiate various meanings. Vazquez, who compares Parra with Palamides, states that this system was used in their writings by the friars and the Indians for at least one hundred and fifty years prior to 1714, the time his chronicle was written.¹ It was particularly useful in teaching and catechizing the natives, though it seems that silent reading must have been extremely difficult to interpret correctly, in a system which depended so greatly on differences in pronunciation.

The educational work of the friars was unified in both curriculum and method in the various jurisdictions of New Spain through the reverberations in America of the European religious revolt, and the counter-reformation, which called for a systematic unified expression of Catholic doctrine and practice, actually given by the universal church Council of Trent. This meant that all books, papers, statements, catechisms, and other instructional materials issued in the new territories, had to harmonize in letter and spirit with the official statements of the council. Betanzos and Parra complied with these instructions and unified both the content and method of instruction in Christian doctrine.² This was especially desirable for those areas and outlying districts where the friars selected native men and women as catechists. Prudent men like Fray Gonzalo Mendez, O.F.M., who had studied the Indian rites and customs, and had taught natives the basic skills, had the responsibility of distinguishing among superstitious and harmless practices, to allow the Indians to retain those that were without sin, extirpating those that were "diabolical," while salvaging and Christianizing those that would not vitiate the new social order.³

Another educational technique employed quite generally by the Franciscan teachers of Spanish North America was theatrical

¹Ibid., p. 217.

²Ibid., I, 104.

³Ibid., II, 217-218.

representation and drama. The auto (short biblical or allegorical drama) and religious fiesta provided an audio-visual stimulus for the assimilation of new ways of living, while direct participation in the pageantry, songs, and dances of the festivals served to emotionalize the experiences the natives were having, with the Christian social order, and helped them build strong appreciations favorable to European culture. The friars, observing the enthusiasm of the natives for their indigenous dances and ritualistic phantasies, opportunely transferred this zeal to the staging of religious plays that would make their verbal instruction much more realistic.

Many of these Franciscan dramas seem to have been narrative poems portraying biblical events of the past and prophecies still to be fulfilled; of the latter type was the play, The End of the World, staged in 1533 at the Franciscan parish of St. James in Tlaltelolco and later repeated at San José de Naturales, where Ghent conducted his large school. This production seems to have contained a great many ludicrous or farcical incidents which caused some friction between Fray Olmos and his superiors.¹ Care always had to be taken to keep the fiesta pageantry free from superstition and heresy, lest, perhaps, harm result from activities which were intended to promote a more useful and sacred cause.

The following religious dramas were produced at Tlaxcala in 1538-1539:²

The Annunciation of the Birth of John the Baptist.
 The Annunciation of the Birth of Jesus.
 The Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth.
 The Birth of John the Baptist.
 The Fall of Our First Parents.
 The Conquest of Jerusalem (probably written by Fray Motolinía, O.F.M.).
 The Temptation of Christ.
 The Preaching of St. Francis to the Birds.
 The Sacrifice of Abraham.

Some time before 1557 the Adoration of the Magi and the Offerings of the Magi to the Child Jesus were also staged at Tlaxcala, while a Corpus Christi pageant in honor of the Eucharist took place at Etla, Oaxaca, in 1575, and a Passion Play was produced in Mexico

¹José J. Rojas Garcidueñas, El teatro de Nueva España en el siglo XVI, pp. 41-43. Mexico, 1938.

²Ibid.

City toward the end of the sixteenth century.¹ While many of these theatrical pieces were written in Spanish, others, like the Dialogue between the Blessed Virgin and the Archangel St. Gabriel, written by Fray Luis Fuensalida, O.F.M., in 1545, were in the native idiom of the country.²

Earlier in this chapter an illustration was given of the dramatic approach used by the friars in teaching the pupils the meaning of Psalm CXIII by having the boys participate in the actual destruction of idols, while others sang the appropriate verses. A similar technique was used to show the efficacy of the name of Jesus in throwing the evil spirits into consternation. Ponce's secretary narrates the following incident which heralded the arrival of the commissary general at the town of Tikax in Yucatan on September 17, 1588.

The cacique came out almost a league to receive him with the principal Indians and many others, on foot and on horseback, and with them a multitude of boys, who did honor to the Father Commissary as far as the convent, giving shouts and hurrahs, throwing oranges at each other and receiving the blows on shields made of sticks which they carried. Also two groups of dancers in the manner of the Spaniards came out, and another of boys dressed as little black people, representing devils, who sang verses in canto de organo. Hearing the name of Jesus, all fell to the ground and trembled, making a thousand grimaces and writhing as a sign of fear and consternation.³

In many regions of southwestern United States tradition has preserved forms of pageantry and dramatic entertainment introduced by the Franciscan friars long centuries ago. The brown-robed missionaries brought from Spain the flavor of that nation's dramatic literature which reached the peak of its development there in the sixteenth century through the creative genius of Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and Calderon de la Barca. Unlike the Puritans of New England, the settlers of Spanish North America did not consider the stage an unmixed evil. The friars, of course, tried to wean the Indians away from the bloody and hideous festivals of their pagan rituals, but they found a substitute in religious and allegorical presentations which provided the natives with opportunities for emotional release and creative expression in dance, song, and action, while at the same time they concretely

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ponce, op. cit., p. 351.

conveyed various aspects of Christian European life and doctrine. This new and influential medium of instruction for the Indian populace had to remain quite simple in form and presentation; in these elements the plays intended for the natives differed from the rather sophisticated productions of the Spaniards. The Indian auto was usually staged in the open by the natives who were very adept at acting; boys usually took the parts of any female characters.

Father Toribio de Motolinia, O.F.M., had probably more to do with the development of the religious Indian drama in America than any other single individual.¹ He has bequeathed to posterity some interesting descriptions of productions which he himself authored and directed at the boys's school in Tlaxcala. His play, Fall of Adam and Eve, was staged in a very elegant setting of fruit trees and flowers, a great variety of birds, real as well as artificial, domestic animals, large rocks and streams, four rivers, and a virginal forest; the tree of life and knowledge stood majestically in the center and was richly adorned with luscious fruit. We secure an excellent mental picture of the action that took place from the following account.

. . . . before Eve tasted the forbidden fruit and Adam consented to try it, she went back and forth from the serpent to her husband and from her husband to the serpent three or four times. Adam refused at first and angrily pushed Eve aside, but she pleaded and begged, saying that it was evident he loved her not, that her love for him was greater than his for her. She then sat on his lap and so importuned him that he went with her to the forbidden tree where Eve took the fruit and, after tasting it, gave some to him to eat. No sooner had they eaten than they realized their sin. They tried in vain to hide as much as possible, but the Lord saw them and came with great majesty, accompanied by many angels. He called Adam and chided him, but he blamed his wife and she blamed the serpent, whereupon the Lord gave each his penance. The angels brought two well-made costumes of skins and dressed Adam and Eve in them.

The most touching thing was their banishment from paradise. They departed sorrow-laden and weeping. Adam was led away by three angels and Eve by the same number, singing as they went Circumdederunt me. This part was so well acted that all who saw it broke into tears. A cherubim remained with drawn sword, to guard the entrance to paradise. Just below was the world, a very different place from the one they had left. It

¹Carlos E. Castañeda, The First American Play, p. 10. Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society. Austin, Texas: St. Edward's University, 1936.

was full of brambles and thorns, and there were numerous snakes. There were, however, some rabbits and hares. When the exiles reached their new home, the angels showed Adam how to till the soil and gave Eve spindles for her to spin and make clothes for her husband and children.¹

According to Castañeda, Latin-American librarian at the University of Texas, the earliest known play written and staged in Spanish North America by a resident during Cortesian times, probably Friar Motolinia, was the auto: "The Conversion and Baptism of the Last Four Kings of Tlaxcala in New Spain."² The cast of characters included the Kings Xicontencatl, Maxiscatzin, Zitlapopocatzin, and Tehuexolotzin, an angel, an idol demon called Hongol, two ambassadors, the Marques de Valle (Cortés), Juan Díaz, a padre, Marina, the interpreter, and some singing angels. The four kings, according to the simple plot, are at first fearful of the importunate demon who suspects that the Spaniards will expose his wiles and destroy his influence in Tlaxcala. While they hesitate in a dilemma that sways them from trust to diffidence in their idol, they fall asleep and are instructed by an angel in the worship of the true God. Upon awakening they find themselves enthused about the Christian religion and send messengers and gifts to Cortés; though struggling with doubt and inner conflict, they decide to follow Christ and receive the sacraments. The four kings themselves arrive before the conqueror and are welcomed by the nobles of his court; Cortés offers to be their god-father as the padre baptizes them, and gives them the Christian names of Bartholomew, John, Gonzalo, and Balthasar. Universal joy follows, but the devil in soliloquy reproaches Charles V with greed, charging that he was not satisfied with being master of Asia, Africa, and Europe, but had to wrest "these remote lands where I was adored as a god," from the barbarian tribes. Cortés clarifies the purpose of his coming and makes the kings feel confident and safe in his protective custody, while the padre invites all to partake of the Holy Sacrament which the angels praise with song and harp.³

While some Franciscans developed dramatic talent, others experimented with mechanical devices and materials that would

¹Motolinia, "The Fall of Our First Parents." Translated by Castañeda, The First American Play, p. 9.

²Ibid., p. 10.

³Ibid., pp. 14-39.

simplify school work and provide the individual with self-corrective learning aids. Friar Alonso de Escalona, O.F.M. (fl. 1547), who distinguished himself by his vocabulary studies while he taught reading, writing, chant, and Christian doctrine to some 600 children in Tlaxcala introduced the papeles de pauta from that region into Guatemala.¹ The pauta is defined as "a board with cat-gut strings upon it to mark lines with lead in order to write straight."² Hence, the paper used by Escalona in his schools was apparently lined to facilitate proper reading and writing, and thus promoted clarity and understanding in the content materials taught. This method of teaching served as a model for other regions.

Some of the friars were quick to sense and utilize centers of Indian interest. Thus Fray Juan Alonso, noticing the artistic inclinations of his pupils and their rather misguided efforts at sketching free-hand figures, permitted them to express their creative talents in drawing, painting, and sculpturing pictures and images by taking their themes from Christian saints. These manual activities served as projects in their studies of religious heroes whose lives they were to emulate.³ Case techniques were employed, especially in advanced classes, to capture and hold interest in moral instructions.⁴

While both the curriculum and the instruction were principally motivated by other worldly principles and solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the pupils, the sources are not entirely silent on the attempts made by the teachers to elevate the standard of bodily living. Thus, as we have seen, a certain amount of supervised physical education was given the boys at Lateran School, sufficient time was allotted them for sleeping and eating, and medical attention was forthcoming during the times of illness, so that there were fewer deaths in the school than in the general population during the time of the pestilence. Padre Diego Martin, O.F.M. (1535-1609), guardian of the convent in the city of Guatemala, loved to work especially in the villages and hamlets,

¹Vazquez, op. cit., II, 183-184.

²Mariano Velazquez de la Cadena, A Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages, p. 484. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1887.

³Vazquez, op. cit., II, 228-229.

⁴Ibid., I, 257-258.

where he showed a special interest in the conservation of human physical life by teaching the children rules of hygiene and cleanliness, lifting them from the carelessness and squalor to which they were accustomed, having them sleep in beds and couches, on boards or mats made of palms, rather than on the ground like animals.¹ Besides teaching these boys to read and write he motivated them to appear in public washed, clean, neat, and comely, by having them actually participate in the services of the choir and the altar, dressing them in cassocks and surplices, if they were found co-operative. There was considerable emulation and rivalry in these campaigns for pupil cleanliness and health habits, at least in the boys' schools under his supervision, though no details are given by the chronicler concerning similar attempts in the schools for girls, which were conducted according to the usual method and with the customary course offerings of reading, writing, Christian doctrine, and good manners, by devoted women teachers, but were frequently visited and examined by Fray Diego Martin.

In the beginnings, and in areas where personnel was limited, it was customary for the friars to employ interpreters whom they formed by word and example into educated religious persons, at heart, if not in habit. Many of these could teach the catechism, reading, writing, and even Latin, and would assist in the chanting of hymns, showing the pupils various forms of prayer, such as saying six "Our Fathers" and six "Hail Marys" with their arms extended in the form of a cross. Motolinia related that three such interpreters, who lived with Friar Martin de Valencia in the Mexican convent of "La Madre Dios," actually became friars of whom the Order could be proud.²

The secret of Pedro de Gante's success in Tezcuco, Mexico City, and Tlascala was, that in order to elevate the natives to a supernatural Christian plane, he first became nativized with them, spoke their language like his native tongue,³ and was interested

¹Vazquez, op. cit., II, 298-299.

²Fr. Toribio de Benavente Motolinia, O.F.M., Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España (escrita a mediados del siglo XVI) (saculas nuevamente a luz el Fr. Daniel Sanchez Garcia, O.F.M.), p. 159. Barcelona, Herederos de Juan Gili, Editores, 1914.

³Cartas de Indias, pp. 51 et seq.; his letters reveal that

first in uplifting the Indian socio-economically. That explains why, having been the first in New Spain to teach them to read, write, play musical instruments both for their temporal profit and more abundant living, he could inaugurate programs of Christian doctrine for the children and adult education classes on Sundays and feast days.

More rapid and accurate learning was facilitated in all the schools by drawings and pictures suited to the age and capacity of the learners. Some of these woodcuts are to be seen in the various catechisms still preserved. In addition, some of the outstanding Franciscan linguists, like Molina and Sahagun, who knew well both the idiom and the secrets of Mexico, and could be trusted with rendering accurate and correct accounts and interpretations, sought to arouse interest among the general run of people by writing novels and highly interesting lives of the saints for the calendar year; such a novel was Flos Sanctorum, which, probably, made more winsome and appealing their many doctrinas, books on the Gospel and Epistles, and their ascetical writings.¹ These books seem to have been passed around in many villages where, because of their attractive style and association with Indian experiences, they were studiously read. The examples of virtue and piety were suited to everyday life and were considered to be persuasive. The Codice Franciscano intimates that both the Archbishop and the Real Audiencia were cold to these methods, and complains of difficulties encountered in getting the books printed, because some authorities feared the dangers of error and heresy which might be inherent in the Indian translations.²

That considerable training for native leadership and a certain amount of self-government existed in Franciscan territory can be inferred from the fact, that, wherever a friar could not be in permanent residence, one of the Indians acted as instructor and administered affairs of lesser import.³ In many of the outlying districts where the Franciscans had charge, not only of the education, but also of the spiritual and corporal welfare of the

he knew how to express himself better in the Indian language than in his mother tongue.

¹Codice Franciscano, op. cit., p. 67.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 147.

natives, many Indian captains (tepixques and tequitlatos) were trained by the religious to handle local affairs. Thus the friars won native good-will and gained a co-operative attitude by intelligently directing and guiding native leaders through the technique of self-government.¹ In the pueblos of New Mexico ten-year-old boys were selected for a type of teacher or monitorial-training which Don Retis, lieutenant captain general of the present Texas and New Mexican frontiers in 1715, considered a very worthwhile procedure, where missionaries could not remain permanently, provided the friars planned and followed up the preparatory work of these youthful teachers.²

The methods pursued by the Franciscans were not blindly transplanted from Europe to America, but were adjusted to the psychology of the Indians as studied and reported by at least some of the friars. Thus, Fray Jeronimo de Mendieta, writing to Father Bustamante, the commissary general, states quite bluntly that the reason the friars are respected, envied, as well as highly esteemed in New Spain, while they are unappreciated and looked down upon in other parts of the world, is the plain fact that they alone know the Indian thoroughly, and have manifested an interest in him as a human being, and not merely as a subject of Spain and the Church. This also explains why some friars, exalted to the dignities of rectorship and gubernatorial responsibilities, lost the spirit of their Franciscan vocation being weakened in purpose by the power of their position.³

Mendieta, therefore, in admitting the great influence wielded by the Franciscans, and the abuse occasioned in some instances, expressly ascribes this advantage to the intelligent understanding and handling of this race of people whose psychology

¹Ibid., p. 80.

²Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, "Diary of June 4, 1715," as translated by Reginald C. Reindorp in The Founding of Missions at La Junta de Los Rios. Reprint from Mid-America, Vol. XX (new series, IX), No. 2. Supplementary Studies of Texas Catholic Historical Society. Austin, Texas: St. Edward's University, 1938.

³"Carta del Padre Fray Jeronimo de Mendieta al Padre Comisario General Fray Francisco de Bustamante," Toluca, January 1, 1562, Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, Vol. I, Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España (1539-1594), pp. 1-29. Editorial: Salvador Chavez Hayhoe, Mexico, D.F., 1941.

was akin to that of children, being naturally subject and timid. Experience taught the friar in Spanish North America that he must play the rôle of a true father and kind teacher toward the natives loving them as sons, and prudently correcting their faults, while teaching and instructing them in the Christian faith and human policies. Hence, there hardly existed another province in the world whose people were more obedient and docile to instruction and prudent government, yet, who, on the contrary, proved themselves ferocious and indomitable to those who sought to restrict their liberty by force. Through such reasoning Mendieta hoped to offset what he termed "the persecution of this church and the work of God," because the secular government had in mind the introduction of the encomienda system, which he feared would destroy "this new plant which has cost us many labors and tears." He vehemently denies the charge that the friars want to make the whole region a Franciscan empire (el imperio franciscano), showing that New Spain, despite the religious wars of Europe, is the most quiet republic of the earth, thanks to the unity effected by the new mold into which the old social order was being cast through the work of the teachers of children in the schools, and thanks to the Franciscans who bore the heat of the day despite early difficulties, and to those who helped financially through their endowments. He cites the great success achieved through the understanding of this Indian psychology, since the natives not only became Christian, but many actually rose to honorable positions in the colonial government. Mendieta seems to have had a definite axe to grind with the secular powers; hence, there are probably exaggerations to be reckoned with, in the enthusiasm of his plea for a proper prudent government, in which the friars "whom the Indians love and who love the Indians," will exercise great authority.¹

As already mentioned, corporal punishments were resorted to in the schools of Spanish North America; this need not shock us, particularly when we recall that such penalties were employed in pre-hispanic times and were then prevalent also in Europe. For external offenses, inattention, and tardiness, for pranks and poor recitations, and for other known and public failings, the pupils, whether children or adults were whipped over the clothes

¹Ibid.

by their teachers with a half dozen stripes.¹ An older man was often selected in each village to function somewhat as a truant officer seeing to it that the children were usually present each morning at the patio schools.² He also could administer bodily chastisement.

The Indians of the Spanish borderlands were less intelligent and more lazy than those of early New Spain.³ Their curriculum was, therefore, more heavily weighted with the industrial or manual arts, such as pottery, carpentry, and masonry; these skills were especially needed in a frontier society. Paradoxically, though it seems, the friars taught them the Christian doctrine in Spanish. This medium of education which the Franciscans resisted in their plans for the masses was thrust upon them by various forces, not the least of which was what Vaillant calls the emphatic individualism in the European culture which broke through legislative controls, darkened educational judgment, and broke the morale of an enthusiastic and prudent leadership.⁴

Libraries are coming to be looked upon less as a collection of books and are being evaluated more as tools of instruction.⁵ Quality and use of the collection tell us much more than the size of the library holdings. The fact that libraries existed in those centers where advanced Indian education took place does not necessarily imply that the students made a thoroughgoing use of the books at their disposal. It must, however, be said that at least at the college of Tlaltelolco the library holdings had been collected on a functional basis in accord with curriculum objectives.⁶

According to an inventory of the college property of Tlaltelolco made at the behest of a public official and sworn to

¹Codice Franciscano, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-69.

²*Ibid.*

³Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 393-394.

⁴Vaillant, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266.

⁵John Dale Russell, "Professional Education for Librarianship," *The Library Quarterly*, XII (October, 1942), No. 4, 775-793; John Dale Russell, "The College Library As Viewed by the Administrator," *The Library Journal*, LX (1935), 89-93.

⁶All that is at present known about the library of the Franciscan college of Celaya is that it contained some 5,600 volumes.

by the religious superiors and the major-domo, Tomé López, on July 31, 1572, it is quite obvious that the emphasis in the collection is placed on religion and the liberal arts. Dictionaries and grammars, books on natural and speculative philosophy, together with the works of the classical authors show that the educational period of the Renaissance had penetrated the land of the Aztecs.

In view of the direct educational significance of this inventory it is apropos to quote at least some portions in their entirety so that the reader might have the flavor of the total report.¹ ". . . there were found eight swords with their scabbards . . . and wooden shoe-heels which are used by the children who dance at the fiestas." After enumerating thus the costumes and other equipment found for teaching dramatic arts needed for the fiestas and the stage, the reporter takes great pains in citing the correct titles of the books together with their number:

Vocabulario Calepino grande, encuadernado en tablas.
 Otros dos Vocabularios de Antonio de Librija.
 Un Arte de Grammatica de comento de Antonio de Librija.
 Un libro de las Epistolas de S. Jerónimo.
 Otro libro llamado Apiano de beliz.
 Vocabulario de Ambrosio Calepino.
 Filosofia Natural.
 Gayo Plinius.
 Santo Tomas de Aquino.
 Historia Imperial--in Spanish.
 Vocabulario Catolicón.
 Vocabularios dos en lengua castellana y Mexicana (by Fr. Alonso de Molina, O.F.M.).
 Quintiliano.
 Plutarco.
 Repertorio General de la Teulugia (by Gabriel Biel).
 Despauterio de latinidad.
 Vocabulario Ecclesiastico.
 Arte de comento de Librija.
 Gramática de Martiniano.
 Lóxica del Maestro Siliceo.
 Biblia en latin.
 Catón.
 Libro de Epistolas Opus Regali.
 Libro de Marco Antonio.
 Rechardos de mediav'a.
 Libro Dealética de Filosofia.
 Epistolas de S. Pablo.
 Epistolas de Mantuano.
 Nuevo Testamento.

¹"Codice de Tlaltelolco," Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, V, 255 et seq. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1886-1892.

Oficios de Cicerón.
 Epistolas de Erasmo.
 Libro de Bita Criste cartuxano.
 Salustio.
 Libro Aureli de latinidad.
 Oraciones de Tulio Cicerón.
 Bautista Mantuano.
 Contentus mundi de Jason.
 Manual Espiritual.
 Testamento Nuevo.
 Proxinasmata de lógica.
 Arte canto llano.
 Cosmografia Camponi.
 Libro de Saludio.
 Biblia escrita de mano en pergamino.
 Un libro Silva de varia lección--in Spanish.
 Destruicion de Troya.

On December 13, 1584, while Molina and Sahagun were still at Holy Cross College, the following books were listed among those reported in the inventory by the new major-domo Diego Rufo.¹

Opera Divi Ambrosii.
 Libro Divi Agustini de Civitate Dei.
 Plutarchus de Viris Illustribus.
 Titus Livius.
 Chronica Santo Antonii Florentini.
 Divi Cipriani Opera.
 Divi Hieronimi Epistolarum Liber.
 Opus Marciani Capele.
 Tres Biblias.
 Paralipomenon.
 Postille.
 Boecius de Consolacione.
 Logica Aristotiles.
 Catolicon.
 Diogenes de vitis.
 Flavi Josephi de antiquitatibus.
 Plini Secundi ystoria naturalis.
 Oficios de Cicerón.
 Luis bibas (Vives).
 Logica.
 Gerson.
 Virgilio.
 Erasmo de Conscribentis.
 Dialectica Aristoteles.

Another inventory cites the following additional works.²

Fabulas de ysopo (Aesop's fables).
 Diogenes de vitis.
 Expositio Petri Magistri.
 Oficio de Nombre de Jesus.

This sampling of volumes in the library of Holy Cross Col-

¹Ibid., pp. 259-261.

²Ibid., pp. 267-268.

lege would seem to parallel rather closely the curriculum as outlined in earlier paragraphs. Emphasis in the collection was quite classical and religious, with a very functional trend toward vernacular or Indian grammars and dictionaries. But library collections do not tell us to what extent libraries are utilized; unfortunately, the major-domos at Tlaltelolco left us no circulation figures which would be essential for an honest evaluation of the library of Holy Cross College as a medium of instruction. But the collection does show an interest in books, which, as tools of learning and sources of knowledge, are the companions of educated men.

The curriculum and instructional methods of the Franciscan schools in Spanish North America, as the evidence presented in this chapter seems to indicate, were influenced by three major factors. In the first place, the dominance of religious materials and the close association of the school environment with that of the church, were the logical means that the friars chose to accomplish the infiltration and stabilization of Christian culture in the newly conquered territories. Reading and writing skills were developed among the Indian masses largely because these tools of learning accelerated and facilitated the communication and transmission of this religious heritage of western civilization. Literacy does not necessarily mean education, nor does illiteracy always connote ignorance; but certainly, the person who can read is in a much better position to acquire new ideas, attitudes, and information than one who is illiterate, and the person who can write often wields a wider influence than his less fortunate fellows.

The second major factor that dictated the courses and methods of Franciscan formal institutionalized education was the prevailing European system of schooling under which the friars themselves had risen to leadership. The classical tradition and the transmission of the liberal culture of the philosophia perennis practically controlled the offerings at Tlaltelolco, Celaya, and other advanced schools. The methods approximated those of the court schools and the contemporary universities of Spain.

The third major factor in curriculum construction and methodology was a rather apparent design to educate the Indian for his own sake. This is shown in Franciscan attempts to develop

native Indian leadership in the new Christian social order, so that the individual, being more fully educated, could lead a more abundant life. The study of the native languages and their phonetic alphabetic transcription and preservation, the prudent adjustment to Indian practices and customs, the teaching of manual arts to promote Indian agriculture and industry, the development of Aztec medicinal remedies, the emphasis on music and the dance and their integration with the religious fiestas, provisions for emotional release through drama, and the satisfaction of personality needs through some self-government and upward social mobility, made possible by equality of educational opportunity for those who displayed corresponding ability: all these give evidence that both curriculum and methods, whether progressive or traditional, were at least partially determined by some understanding of Indian psychology and a desire to benefit the Indian both as an individual and as a member of the new emerging society.

CHAPTER XII

FRANCISCAN TEXTBOOKS AND PRODUCTIVE SCHOLARSHIP

The invention of printing served in many ways to revolutionize educational content and instructional methods in Europe; through the vision of Zumárraga, Franciscan bishop of Mexico, its influence was extended to the New World. This is shown very plainly in numerous textbook imprints and in scholarly works of learned Franciscan friars in various sections of Spanish North America, but especially in sixteenth-century Mexico.

A small reader "believed to be the only known copy of the earliest extant primer in Mexico"¹ was investigated and inspected by the author in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, and is unquestionably of Franciscan origin. This brief quarto volume consists of some eight unnumbered leaves, having a title-page containing a large woodcut of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, distinctly indicative that it was composed by a son of the Franciscan family. Other early imprints which were found to possess similar woodcuts are traceable to Franciscan authors. It seems that each religious order had its own peculiar emblem on the title-page of printed works, that of the Franciscans being quite usually a drawing of the Seraphic St. Francis kneeling in ecstatic prayer receiving the five wounds or stigmata from the crucified Savior. A reproduction of the title-page of this primer, together with one leaf, is shown on the following pages.²

There may have been primers in North America before 1569, or at least earlier editions of this Franciscan example in the Huntington Library, but nothing is known about them if they did exist. This sole known copy entitled A Primer for Teaching Reading, Newly Revised, which came from the Mexican press of Pedro

¹Henry R. Wagner, Mexican Imprints (1544-1600) in the Huntington Library, pp. 24, 26. San Marino, California, 1939.

²Cartilla para enseñar a leer, nuevamente enmendada, y quitadas todas las abreviaturas que antes tenía . . . (Colophon): Mexico en casa de Pedro Ocharte, 1569.

Ocharte in 1569, seems, however, to have been based on earlier printed or manuscript editions, since reference is made to abbreviations (que antes tenia) which previous primers had. It may also have had some relation to the Primer for Children published by Fray Gilberti in 1555. No copy of this work remains, according to Medina,¹ but a reprint thereof is found in the same writer's Spiritual Treasury of the Poor printed in the Tarascan language of the Michoacán province in 1575.² This Cartilla para los niños (first book for children) is tri-lingual, containing the elements of religion in Indian (Michoacán dialect), Spanish, and Latin. Folios 28 (verso) and 29 (recto) of the copy found in the Huntington Collection are reproduced on the following page.

The earliest known extant North America primer (1569), as seen from the accompanying plates, is a very interesting booklet of sixteen pages. It lays special emphasis on the teaching of the alphabet and offers considerable phonetic drill in almost all vowel-consonant combinations. Numerous illustrations, mainly of a religious character, are designed to aid the pupil to understand the reading materials. These are presented in three distinct languages, Spanish, Latin, and a Mexican-Indian dialect, and, except for the alphabet and the abbreviations, are very much akin to the content of numerous bi-lingual and tri-lingual catechisms of Christian doctrine which many missionaries composed and had printed to facilitate the instruction of the natives who had already learned to read. This illustrated textbook is a combination primer, prayer book, and catechism of Christian doctrine, and substantiates the hypothesis that the primary objective the friars had in teaching the natives to read was religious. Secular objectives were not excluded, as other textbooks and Indian attainments show, but the friars seemed to believe that literacy is not an end in itself; more important than knowing how to read is the nature of one's reading. For that reason the reading materials in this particular primer were confined to prayers, such as the "Our Father," "Hail Mary," the "Creed," the "Hail, Holy Queen," the mass prayers, and the religious instructional mate-

¹José Toribio Medina, Imprenta en Mexico (1539-1821), I (1539-1600), 199-202. Santiago de Chile, 1908-1912. Eight volumes.

²Fr. Maturino Gilberti, O.F.M., Thesoro spiritual de pobres en lengua de Michoacán. En Mexico: por Antonio de Spínosa, 1575.

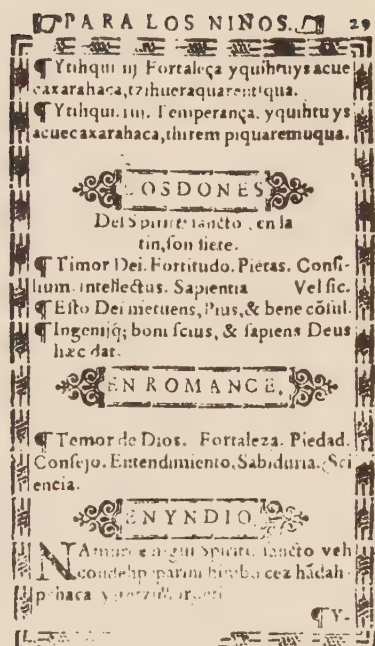
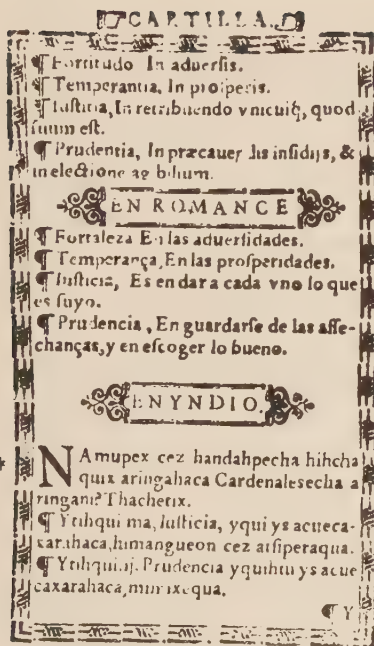


Fig. 33.--Folios 28 (verso) and 29 (recto) of Fray Gilberti's First Book for Children published as part of his Spiritual Treasury in 1575. (Courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Collection, San Marino, California.)

rials which centered around the commandments, articles of faith, and the sacraments.

Among the early Franciscan textbooks which deal ex professo with Christian doctrine must be mentioned the 1543 (1542-1544)¹ and 1546 editions of Bishop Zumárraga's catechism for the masses, who were without erudition, and for those of common intelligence. Both copies were inspected in the Huntington Library, and found to contain almost identical materials; they are useful in determining some of the educational ideas of the first bishop of Mexico. The contents, which apparently were to be memorized, included the fourteen articles of faith, the seven sacraments, the four commandments of the church and those of the common law, the seven mortal sins, the fourteen works of corporal and spiritual mercy, the five corporal senses as the doors to the soul, the three powers of the soul, and finally the theological, cardinal, and moral virtues. The 1546² edition includes an explanation of the mass, of the ten commandments, of the sacraments, and the petitions of the Our Father. The prologue of this edition was written by the bishop and is a fine statement on the importance of formal teaching as compared with preaching. He commends the work of the children's schools and the monasteries where the Indians are instructed since, as he writes, the instruction of youth is the most hopeful means of communicating Christian thought and practice. Zumárraga wants special care to be exercised over the reading habits of the children so that vain and dangerous works be removed from them.

The first bishop of Mexico was adamant in insisting on the obligation of Christian doctrine and gave explicit directions for catechizing both Indians and Negroes in his jurisdiction. He tells the schoolmen of his day that learned and dramatic sermons on subtle subjects have their place, but that simple direct methods of teaching the poor and ignorant of New Spain will in the long run

¹Fr. Juan Zumárraga, O.F.M., Doctrina breve muy provechosa de las cosas q pertenecen a la fe catholica y a nra cristianidad en estilo llano pa comú intelligēcia. Mexico: Casa Juā Cróberger, June 14, 1544.

²[Fr. Juan Zumárraga, O.F.M.], Doctrina cristiana, mas cierta y verdadera pa gēte sin erudiciō y letras; en q se cōtiene el catecismo o informaciō pa indios cō todo lo principal y necesario q el xriano deve saber y obrar. Mexico, 1546.

prove more fruitful of good. Clear common language should be used, so that even the slowest minds will not be deprived of their educational rights. Parents should be encouraged to aid in the instruction of their children, providing that uniformity of doctrine be constantly maintained. In stressing the office of teaching as mandatory, he quotes the injunction of Christ to his apostles that they go into the whole world and teach every creature. The prologue to the supplement, which is intended to be an easily mastered simplified version for those of slower intelligence, shows an understanding of the educational problems occasioned by individual differences and makes an attempt to adjust both content and method on a sort of double-track basis (cōforme a su capacidad y talēto). From the make-up and the instructions in these textbooks it seems quite certain that Zumárraga was the sponsor, but only the partial author of these works, and intended them more as teacher's manuals to insure uniformity of instruction and to provide models and lesson plans. On the other hand, the numerous illustrations would lead one to believe that he intended the pupils as well as their teachers to benefit from the visual aids provided. It seems that much of the 1546 edition is a reprint of a Spanish catechism written by Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, a secret Lutheran, and explains why Archbishop Montufar in 1559 called in one of the Zumárraga editions for inspection when the charge of heresy was made against it.¹

In the conclusion of the later work Bishop Zumárraga warned those who wrote catechisms against too much rhetoric, and instructed them to write plainly, using simple words that will be understood, lest elegance of expression produce admiration but obscure thought. He encouraged preceptors of the young to follow the simple style of Christ and translate the Gospel and Epistles into all the native idioms.

To accomplish their objectives of imparting Christian education to the natives, the Franciscan teachers first had to master the Aztec and other Indian languages. Once this means of communication was open, oral instruction was seconded by the writing of textbooks for the further enlightenment of those whom they had taught to read.

¹Wagner, Mexican Imprints (1544-1600) in the Huntington Library, pp. 11, 13.

Another of these texts which were printed in Mexico in a remarkably short time after the first Gutenberg Bible appeared in print¹ on the continent of Europe, was the famous Book of Christian Doctrine composed in Aztec (interspersed with Latin) by the Franciscan Friar Peter of Ghent.²

The writer was privileged to examine a first edition of this manual kept in the vault of the Edward E. Ayer Indian Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago. It is an imperfect copy, like the other two extant copies, but contains some 122 leaves or portions of leaves and many illustrative woodcuts which serve to interpret the text. The title, imprint, collation, and colophon (Fue empresa en casa de Juā pablos impressor de libros. Año de 1553) are taken from García Icazbalceta's Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVI (Mexico, 1886).³

Gante's Doctrina Cristiana is essentially a catechetical work, though it may also be regarded to a certain extent as a manual of devotion. In many respects the contents resemble that of a modern catechism of the Catholic religion. From the woodcuts and the Latin contents one is able to determine the following Aztec contents: The "Our Father," the "Hail Mary," the "Apostles' Creed"; the articles of the creed are explained briefly; there are usual accounts of the creation, fall, redemption, and sanctification of mankind. Explanations of the theological virtues, faith, hope, charity, and of the cardinal moral virtues, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, are illustrated by primitive woodcuts which, educationally speaking, show the psychological value which Ghent placed upon the use of visual aids.

Further examination of the contents of this historic book illustrates the method of making the sign of the cross and reciting the rosary, and the prayers on the way of the cross. Gante's treatment of the commandments of God and the Church, the catalog of sins to facilitate an examination of one's conscience, and a summary enumeration and definition of the seven sacraments insti-

¹An Exhibition Commemorating the Five Hundredth Anniversary of the Invention of Printing, pp. 5-6. Low Memorial Library. New York: Columbia University, 1940.

²Pedrus a Gandavo, Doctrina Cristiana por Fr. Pedro de Gante. Mexico; J. Pablos, 1553.

³Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía Mexicana de siglo XVI. Mexico, 1886.

tuted by Christ compare favorably with those found in some of the catechisms in use in the early twentieth century. Of particular interest to the educational psychologist are the illustrations which accompany the liturgical portions of the manual, namely those paragraphs which refer to the sacrifice of the mass and the eight hours of the divine office, matins, lauds, prime, tierce, sext, none, vespers, and compline. Thus the illustration for matins is a woodcut showing Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus, servant of the high priest; perhaps, the reason for placing it adjacent to the prayers for matins is, that the incident occurred in the morning. While the woodcuts usually show figures with features that are closely allied to those of Spaniards, the message conveyed is quite appropriate regardless of time, race, and sentiment. A picture of Christ being mocked before Herod's court was intended to arouse devotion at the prayers of prime, while another depicting the scourging was, perhaps, meant to be the source of sincere meditation during tierce.

Those who teach the liturgy of the mass to children and adults in our own century would find the Doctrina Cristiana of particular interest. It would not require any stretch of the imagination to visualize the catechists of sixteenth-century Mexico showing the natives how to use Fray Pedro's text and prayer book by having them compare the "action pictures" with what the priest was actually doing at the altar. Thus, without disturbance, the children, and adults as well, could inform themselves concerning the main portions of the holy sacrifice and betimes recite the appropriate prayers almost simultaneously with the priest. Gante's text is certainly suited to the technique employed today in the missa recitata, teaching the people to "pray the mass," rather than just to be present to hear mass.

An earlier edition of Gante's Doctrina Cristiana in the Mexican language is found in the Huntington Library and is, probably, to be dated about 1547. Its title is in red; its woodcuts of the apostles constitute an interesting feature. It seems that Gante interspersed some of the Tarascan with the pure Mexican idiom, but he is to be excused for this, since Fray Gilberti's Arte in the Tarascan language was not printed till 1558. Gante's translation of the Spanish catechism into the Mexican language differs from the translations of his Franciscan colleagues, Maturino Gilberti, Alonso de Molina, Andrés de Olmos, and others,

just as these differ in certain aspects of language and presentation from one another. Wagner, bibliophile and collector of early Mexican imprints, who is exceptionally well qualified to deal with this problem is not surprised at these differences, since "the writing of the Mexican language in Spanish characters had not yet become standardized, and several Doctrinas by the Franciscans were published or written about this time, differing in their translations of the Spanish catechism or doctrine into the Mexican language."¹

The catechism of Gilberti was published in dialogue form and has several appendices including selections from the Epistles and Gospel and the lives of the saints. The Huntington copy which numbers some three hundred and twenty leaves was published in Mexico in 1559 in the Tarascan language.² Maturino Gilberti, a French Franciscan, who had come to New Spain around 1531, published both a grammar and a vocabulary in the Tarascan idiom. His Christian doctrine dialogue was for a time withdrawn from circulation by order of the Inquisition, but was eventually permitted to circulate freely.

A perusal of Streit's volume on American mission literature will give the reader a representative impression of the many and varied books written in many languages by the Franciscans for the instruction of natives in all areas of Spanish North America.³ In the Gates Collection at Tulane University the writer came across a Mayan catechism of some 26 leaves written by Padre Juan Coronel, O.F.M., and printed in 1620. Possibly, many similar Franciscan works will be located in the course of time.

In addition to the extant Franciscan primers, numerous catechisms, and Christian doctrine textbooks there still exist a number of vocabularies and grammars scattered in various libraries and museums of North America. Thus Gilberti published a vocabulary in the Tarascan language in 1560 which was preceded in 1558-1559

¹Wagner, Mexican Imprints (1544-1600) in the Huntington Library, p. 15.

²Maturino Gilberti, O.F.M., Dialogo de doctrina Christiana, en la lengua de Mechoacan ... Año de 1559. (Colophon): Mexico: ... Fue impresso en casa de Juan Pablos Bressano ... 1559.

³Robert Streit, O.M.I., Bibliotheca missionum, Vol. II, Amerikanische Missionsliteratur, 1493-1699. Aachen: Xaverius-Verlagsbuchhandlung, A.G., 1924.

by his famous grammar,¹ a copy of which the author had filmed at the time of his visit to the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island. A part of one of Gilberti's Spanish-Tarascan dictionaries is reproduced on the following page. It is taken from a manuscript in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University which, incidentally, contains only half of the complete work; the remainder is considered lost. From a linguistic viewpoint Gilberti's work is highly important, since very few written works in the Tarascan dialect are available; evaluated educationally, the dictionary has the advantage of emphasizing meanings and action phrases rather than mere words. Contextual association of words help the students to find the proper referents, and thus concretely, they develop clearer and more accurate meanings.²

Five years before Gilberti's Tarascan-Spanish dictionary appeared, Friar Alonso de Molina, O.F.M., Guardian of the convent of St. Anthony at Tetzcuco, had his Mexican-Spanish vocabulary off the press.³ The title-page contains the usual Franciscan emblem of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, while other interesting woodcuts are found among the vocabulary, numerals, and arithmetical materials of this early schoolbook.

The Molina volume has a fairly large section devoted to arithmetic which was quite probably used by the friars in their schools, and can, therefore, be regarded partly as an arithmetic textbook. It preceded the publication of the so-called earliest arithmetic printed in the New World by one year; the compendium of silver and gold accounts which contained some rules of arithmetic was published by Juan Diez Freyle in 1556.⁴ The latter

¹Maturino Gilberti, *Grammatica Maturini*: Tractatus omnium quae Grammaticae studiose tradi solet, a fratre Maturino Gilberti minorita ex doctissimis coll. auctoribus. Mexico, 1559.

²W. S. Gray and E. Holmes, *The Development of Meaning* *Vocabularies in Reading*. Publications of the Laboratory Schools of the University of Chicago, No. 6. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938.

³Alonso de Molina, O.F.M., *Aquí comienza vn vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana* ... (Colophon): ... Imprimio se en la ... ciudad de Mexico, en casa de Juan pablos, ... 1555.

⁴Juan Diez Freyle, *Sumario compendioso de las quantas de plata y oro que en los reynos del Piru son necessarias a los mercaderes*: ... Con algunas reglas tocantes al arithmetica ... (Colophon): ... El qual fue impresso en la ... ciudad de Mexico, en casa de Juan pablos Bressano: ... d. 1556 años.

book contains many figures, tables, numerals, and rules of both algebra and arithmetic, but the author's identity remains very obscure despite diligent research. Nothing could be learned about Diez Freyle from the Huntington copy, but a description of the British Museum's perfect copy seems to indicate that he was a cleric, while Smith, who has edited a reprint of this work with English translation and notes, refers to him as a brother.¹ From the dedication of the work one can attest to his religious-mindedness, but the title-page lacks the distinctive Franciscan emblem. He was most probably, therefore, not a Franciscan, but seems to have had some connection with a royal or military order interested in both religion and merchandising.

The arithmetic section of Molina's dictionary, entitled Cuenta segun la lengua Mexicana, extends from folio 249 to folio 260 (twenty-three pages), and, is thus large enough to deserve special treatment as an arithmetic textbook for Spaniards learning the Indian language or for Indians learning Spanish. This is particularly justified since this Franciscan publication was printed on May 4, 1555, and thus antedates all known American arithmetics, including the work of Juan Diez Freyle, printed in 1556, and considered by Smith² to have been the earliest arithmetic printed in the New World. Several samples of Molina's Arithmetic in the Mexican Language are reproduced on the following pages through the courtesy of the Huntington Library where the volume was found. A few extracts, freely translated, will give the reader some idea of the Franciscan scholar's approach to the study of numbers. He first distinguishes between the major and minor numbers in the European Arabic system and then continues:

In the Mexican language there are also three other major numbers; they are: twenty, four hundred, eight thousand. For these numbers they use these sounds: puulli, tzuntli, xiquipilli A minor number is from one to twenty, and arriving at twenty, the counting is repeated and multiplied by a minor number until another twenty is reached; thereupon they say: two times twenty are forty, three times twenty are sixty

. In this language there are many ways and various differences in the names (of numbers) conformable to the differences and the diversity of things

¹David Eugene Smith, The Sumario compendiosa of Brother Juan Diez. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1921.

²Ibid.

Molina thereupon gives the Mexican equivalents for the Spanish numbers from one to four hundred as they would be used in counting or figuring the number of living things, beams of timber, woolen blankets, chile peppers, paper, and similar things. The next set of Indian numerical equivalents are used to count such things as chickens, eggs, beans, melons, fruits, books, tamales, and so forth. The third set is employed to count levels used by masons, walls, garden furrows, and things having to do with building or agricultural operations. The fourth group of numbers is reserved for counting speeches, conversations, shoes and sandals, churches, shields, and similar things, while the fifth is used to count papers, tortillas, mats, blankets, and hides; this fifth set also has an alternative form. A sixth set of Indian numerals is presented in Molina's arithmetic for use in counting ears of corn, or kernels of cacao, certain flowers, nuts, and rocks.

Molina follows up this rather intricate numerical system with special rules for multiplying, and dividing by doubling or redoubling the first syllables of the major or minor number. The multiplicative numerals are formed by adding the suffix "pa"; with other numerals, like the distributive, he omits the rules and simply gives examples. He concludes with numerous tables of quantitative and ordinal numerals in both Spanish and Mexican idioms and a final set indicating universality of certain classes of things.

Two other works of Father Molina which were found in the Huntington Collection are perhaps as significant from the text- or reference-book standpoint as they are from that of the linguistic viewpoint. His Arte de la lengua Mexicana y Castellana, which came off the press of Pedro Ocharte in 1571, is considered by Wagner as the first printed grammar of the Mexican language and made Molina its outstanding authority for many years.¹ Its title-page bears the familiar stigmatization of St. Francis, while the content is modeled on that of the traditional Latin grammar. As is intimated in the dedicatory letter to the viceroy, Molina and his Franciscan colleagues were not intent on destroying native culture in their efforts to bring about a changed social order, but studied it deeply, organized it, and sought to harmonize it

¹Wagner, Mexican Imprints (1544-1600) in the Huntington Library, p. 25.

with the civilization of Christian Spain, which, in turn had to adjust itself to the new environment. The author was intent on preserving and teaching the native idioms.

The prologue of this first printed grammar in the Mexican language¹ states that the Indians lack six consonants, namely, "b," "d," "f," "g," "r," and "s"; the consonant "v" is never pronounced by the men, but is used only by the women. There are five vowels, as in Latin and Spanish, plus an additional Hebrew letter, which Molina spells "tsade." In the "argumento" he declares his intention to make the volume brief but usable, since he has had vocabularies printed which explain the varied meanings in the native dialects. He divided the work into two parts: the first deals with the eight parts of speech, while the second section explains and composes various language difficulties. Numerous examples clarify and illustrate various grammatical rules as the two reproduced pages indicate.

A second enlarged edition of Molina's Mexican-Spanish Vocabulario of 1555 appeared likewise in 1571; it is composed of two sections, Spanish-Mexican and Mexican-Spanish.² The prologue and suggestions to the user are quite significant since this work became the standard Mexican-Spanish dictionary, as the large number of copies still extant attest. Furthermore, the vocabulary sections proper are not simply built around isolated words, but contain meaningful action phrases with their idiomatic translations. Extracts from the Murphy-Church copy in the Huntington Collection show that it was dedicated to Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez. In the first volume there are twelve, and in the second, ten suggestions to the reader which explain certain basic differences between Spanish and Mexican words and call attention to regional peculiarities in dialect. Hence, Molina wants the reader to use it judiciously since, not having "imbibed the language with his mother's milk"³ he has, no doubt, frequently blundered in interpreting the genius and variety of the idiom,

¹Alonso de Molina, O.F.M., Arte de la lengua Mexicana y Castellana. En Mexico en casa de Pedro Ocharte, 1571.

²Alonso de Molina, O.F.M., Vocabulario en lengua Castellana y Mexicana ... Mexicana y Castellana. 2 volumes. En Mexico, en casa de Antonio de Spínosa, 1571.

³Ibid., "Prologo," fol. 1.

especially in those concepts which are entirely foreign to the Indian mind. Both the ethnologist and the linguist will find a fertile field for detailed research in this Vocabulario which showed quite an increase over the 4,000 words in the 1555 edition. The title-page of the second part of this large sixteenth-century imprint is given among the plates on the following pages.

There were quite a number of grammars and pronouncing dictionaries published by the Friars Minor at intervals of time in various sections of Spanish North America and in many dialects. Thus Streit in the second volume of his Bibliotheca missionum, Medina in his monumental study of early Mexican imprints, and Zulaica, who has studied the Franciscan contribution to Mexican incunabula, reveal that the sons of St. Francis led the way in producing the printed materials for instruction.

Among these grammars and dictionaries might be listed the Grammar and Pronouncing Dictionary in the Timuquana and Spanish Languages. According to Medina,¹ it was published in 1614 by Fr. Francisco Pareja, O.F.M., a defintior of the Florida province of St. Helena. He also authored a catechism and a Confessionario. In 1717 Francisco de Avila, O.F.M., published his Mexican Grammar, a proof that the friars were still teaching native languages at that time.

Diego Landa, O.F.M., composed a catechism for the Yucatecan tribes, while Fray Bartholome García, O.F.M., is responsible for the first textbook or manual written for the schools of the present state of Texas. The writer examined the copy in the Lenox Collection of the New York Public Library; it has a very religious title, Manual para administrar los santos sacramentos, is well illustrated, and was published in 1760.

Fray Juan Baptista Lagunas, O.F.M., wrote a grammar and dictionary in the Tarascan dialect of Michoacán;² Vetancurt³ and Olmos⁴ wrote grammars in Aztec, while Molina wrote several bi-

¹Toribio Medina, La imprenta en Mexico, Vol. II, año 1614.

²Fray Juan Baptista Lagunas, O.F.M., Arte y dictionary, con otras obras, en lengua Michuacan. Mexico, 1574.

³Fray Agustin Vetancurt, O.F.M., Arte de lengua Mexicana. Mexico, 1673.

⁴Fray Andrés Olmos, O.F.M., Arte para aprender la lengua Mexicana. Mexico, 1546. Fols. 112.

lingual confession manuals and a Spanish-Mexican dictionary. But, perhaps, the most elaborate grammar examined by the writer on the basis of conjugation, declension, rules for mode, tense, voice, and syntax is Olmos' work in the Tzoque idiom.¹ It is preserved in the Bancroft Library and has a reader or catechism attached to it--mute evidence of the main Franciscan objective in promoting literacy.

Very little information is available concerning the actual textbooks in use at Tlaltelolco College, though the inventory of the library, given in an earlier chapter, might be helpful in furnishing possible leads. However, since lecturing was a favorite mode of teaching in European universities it is not improbable that the notebooks of the students became their personal textbooks; many, thus, became excellent copyists as well as writers.²

Franciscan productive scholarship was more than co-extensive with the writing of schoolbooks such as readers, grammars, catechisms of Christian doctrine, vocabularies or dictionaries, arithmetical materials, and liturgical and musical compositions printed for school and church use. Ethnologists and linguists have a profound respect for the Friars Minor, who, not only mastered and wrote grammars, dictionaries, and catechisms in the main Indian languages, but differentiated the native dialects. Most missionaries learned to speak at least one dialect. They taught languages in the schools, not primarily for the training of faculties and mental discipline as was emphasized in teaching the classical languages of Latin and Greek; their aim in deciphering, coding, alphabetizing, writing, and teaching the vernacular languages of the tribes was essentially functional: aiding the Indians to read and write in their own tongue, so that they might utilize translations of biblical writings, catechisms, and other important religious and secular works.³ Philologists are quite ready to concede that no other group of men has equalled the

¹Fray Andrés Olmos, O.F.M., *Arte breve en lengua Tzoque, conforme se habla en Tecpaltan*. Mexico, 1550 (?). Fols. 42.

²Steck, *El primer colegio*, p. 26.

³Translations of the Bible, except for the Epistles and Gospels and a few other sections, are notably absent in the Indian collections. Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio di bibliografia san-francescana*, VII, 780, Patro, 1879, claims these were forbidden and that all extant copies were burned.



Fig. 37.--Fray Andrés de Olmos, O.F.M. (1491-1571), noted scholar and linguist. After an old portrait in the Museo Nacional, Mexico City.

Franciscans in their linguistic studies, at least as far as the Mexican languages are concerned.¹ This interest in the Indian vernacular perseveres even at present in the territory which was formerly Spanish North America. Thus, Father Berard Haile, O.F.M., missionary to the Navajo and research associate in anthropology at the University of Chicago, continues the Franciscan linguistic tradition even today by his researches in the Navajo language which is spoken by many Indians in Arizona and New Mexico. Among his published works are listed An Ethnological Dictionary of the Navajo Language and a Navajo-English Catechism.

Language studies and the writing of books in the newly acquired mode of communication have been quite universal practices in Franciscan mission policies.² Among the main writers of grammars, dictionaries, dramas, catechisms, hymn and sermon books, confessionaries, psalmodies, colloquies and conferences, anthologies, lives of the saints, and ascetical works in the Aztec (also called Mexican and Nahuatl) language were Friars Alonso de Molina, Bernardino de Sahagun, Andrés de Olmos,³ Juan Bautista, Michael de Zarate, Juan de Gaona, Pedro de Gante, Juan de Zumárraga, Arnoldo de Basacio, Juan de Ribas, Francisco Ximenes, Toribio de Benavente Motolinia, García de Cisneros, Juan de San Francisco, Ildephonso de Herrera, Pedro de Betanzos, Juan de Ayora, Alonso de Rengel, Juan Foucher, Alonso de Escalona, Luís Rodríguez, Juan de Romanones, Pedro de Curdoba, Jeronimo Mendieta, Agustin de Vetancurt, and Antonio Figueroa, who, toward the end of the eighteenth century, published his Vindicias or Vindications, which was directed against Archbishop Lorenzana who, apparently, tried to suppress the native Indian languages and promote linguistic unity through Spanish.⁴ The attempt proved abortive, not only because of Franciscan

¹Joseph Dahlmann, Sprachkunde und Missionsgeschichte, p. 90. Freiburg, 1891.

²John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap., "Language Studies in the Franciscan Order," Report of the Franciscan Educational Conference, VI (November, 1924), 35-137. Capuchin College, Washington, D.C., 1924.

³A few extracts of the Olmos Arte y vocabulario en lengua Mexicana, 1547-1560, pp. 576 (14.6 cm.) with conjugations, declensions, etc., are herewith reproduced from the Gates photograph in the Ayer Collection of Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴Civezza, op. cit.

opposition and Indian traditionalism, but also because the Aztec tongue was fairly common in all provinces and, even though countless dialects existed in the individual villages, interpreters of the Aztec idiom were usually to be found everywhere.

The Otomi language, spoken by the tribes on the northern plateau of the Anahuac Sierras, was employed in numerous similar works by the Franciscans Alonso de Caceres, Alonso de Rengel, Pedro Palacios, Pedro Oraz, Juan Soriano, and Antonio Ramirez, while Maturino Gilberti and Juan de Lagunas are the foremost scholars of the Tarascan idiom of Michoacán province. Civezza, Dahlmann, Lehnhart,¹ and Streit have made extensive lists of both printed and manuscript works of Franciscan missionaries throughout the world during the past seven centuries and, while comparisons are at times odious, these lists favor the Spanish North American period.

Fray Andrés de Castro was the first European to speak and write the language of the Matlaltzincas who were not far distant from the Tarascos, while Father Francisco Alvaredo wrote a dictionary in the very difficult Misteca idiom for the Indians of the Oaxaca region, and Juan de Cordoba published both a dictionary and a grammar in Zapotecan.

On the peninsula of Yucatan, where the Maya family of tribes is most numerous, Luis a Villalpranda, Bishop Diego de Lenda, and Juan Coronel became masters of Mayan and wrote grammars, catechisms, and sermons in that idiom. Pocket dictionaries were composed by two other friars, primarily for the use of the Spanish clergy and laity of the region. Fray Antonio de Ciudad Real, who was the secretary of Ponce on the latter's visitation of the Franciscan missions of Yucatan, wrote the monumental work of six volumes entitled Calepino de la lengua Maya, which was the product of forty years of arduous study and research.² Cogolludo, writing in 1620, praises him in the following manner: "He knew Maya so perfectly that beyond any doubt he must be called the greatest master of the Maya that ever lived. He preached, taught, and wrote in this language with unsurpassed elegance. His sermons for the Sundays of the year are true masterpieces."³ The Francis-

¹Lehnhart, op. cit., pp. 108-113.

²Ibid., p. 118.

³Cogolludo, Historia de Yucathan, 1620, p. 255.

cans continued their productive scholarship in the Yucatecan area well into the eighteenth century.

Around the regions of Vera Cruz, Puebla, and San Luis Potosí Friars Andrew de Olmos and Francisco de Toral distinguished themselves through their catechetical and linguistic works in the Hausteca and Totonaca languages. Olmos and Alonso de Escalona had also mastered the dialects of the cannibalistic Chichimeca and Achi Indians in the north. In Guatemala, which today is considered part of Central America, Franciscan grammars, dictionaries, catechisms, and other works in the Quiché, Cakchíquel, Tzutuhil, Chotli, and Tzotzil languages appeared from the Franciscan pens of Betanzos, Mendez, Parra, Maldonado, Margil de Jesus, Salcedo, Diego Odoñez de Laro, Alonso Escalona, and Flores who was professor of Cakchíquel at the University of Guatemala.¹

Gregorio de Movilla, O.F.M., a native of the villa de Carrión de los Condes, translated a catechism into the lengua Floridana, the second edition of which was printed in Mexico in 1635 in octavo form, and has some 211 leaves. This revision was probably done in Mexico due to the many errors made in the Madrid edition of 1631. It is a continuation of a much briefer work in the same language dealing with the administration of the sacraments.² Frey Gregorio was a member of the Florida Franciscan province of St. Helena where the Timuquana (Floridana) language was spoken. As far as is known, the first printed books of any language spoken by Indians within the confines of the present United States were those composed by Father Pareja, O.F.M., between 1612 and 1627, unless the works in Chichimeca language of some Texas tribes, written by Andrés de Olmos, O.F.M., shortly after his visit north of the Rio Grande between 1544 and 1547, can claim that distinction.³ The same language is also found south of the Texas border. All these works are of a religious nature.

The Everett E. Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library at Chicago contains a volume of manuscripts and early printed documents of Franciscan origin. These include an account of the

¹Lenhart, op. cit., pp. 120-121; Vasquez, op. cit., II, 20, 109-110, 183-184.

²Clvezza, Saggio di bibliografia sanfrancescana, pp. 414-415. Prato, 1879.

³Lenhart, op. cit., p. 125.

parishes of Santa Maria Redonda, Santiago de Tlaltelolco, copies of three Aztec plays, the Promptuario, and the other works of Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, O.F.M.,¹ who shares honors with Vetancurt and other chroniclers of Franciscan accomplishments in Spanish North America.

Prescinding from the theological, ascetical, catechetical writings, and the religious reading and linguistic materials composed by members of the Franciscan Order, under the leadership of Zumárraga, Olmos, Molina, and Gilberti, research indicates that Friars Mendieta, Torquemada, and Motolinia share the palm for their historical studies, while Bernardino de Sahagun, the man behind the scenes at the Indian college of Santa Cruz in Tlaltelolco, deserves scholarly credit for his work in the natural sciences and medicine. James Cooper Clark, who edited and translated the Mexican manuscript known as the collection of Mendoza, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, names Olmos, Sahagun, and Molina as the outstanding scholars in Spanish North America in the sixteenth century, and declares that the Franciscan policy was to preserve the paintings, designs, glyphs, and Mexican manuscripts dealing with linguistics, histories, and calendars, and to destroy those only which were idolatrous.²

Among the historical works of greatest importance, Mendieta's Historia ecclesiastica Indiana and Motolinia's Guerra de los Indios de la Nueva España, Memoriales, and Historia de los Indios de Nueva España set the pace for historical scholarship in New Spain which, according to the spirit of time and region, was designed to be both instructional and inspirational. Chroniclers like De la Rea, Medina, Beaumont, Espinosa, and Vetancurt have detailed the events of Franciscan missionary history in New Spain, colorfully at times out of loyalty to their Order, but, for the most part, accurately and reliably.

From the viewpoint of both versatility and depth of research Fray Bernardino de Sahagun is worthy to be designated the outstanding Franciscan scholar among his brethren in Spanish

¹Manuscritos en Mexicano, 1580-1847, pp. 409, 32 cm. Everett E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

²Codex Mendoza. Edited and translated by James Cooper Clark. Three volumes. London: Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., 1938. Confer Appendix of Vol. I (pp. xi + 104), and p. 5.



Fig. 39.--Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M. (died 1590), promoter of Indian higher education and most noted Franciscan scholar in sixteenth century New Spain. After an old portrait in the Museo Nacional, Mexico City.

North America. Sahagun, sometimes also called Ribeira, studied at Salamanca and, after his ordination as a Franciscan priest, went to New Spain in 1529 as one of the nineteen friars who set sail that year under the guidance of Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, O.F.M.¹ Though some of his Aztec writings of an educational character have been lost, while others of ethnological importance were suspected and censored by the Inquisition, he still ranks with Olmos and Molina as a linguist, and surpasses them in his unique efforts and successes at anthropological, biological, and historical studies for which modern ethnologists are particularly grateful. His life and works deserve special and careful study because he blazed a trail of research into the natural habitat, origin, languages, social and economic organization, and cultural lore of the peoples of the new missionary country. In this monumental contribution to scholarship, he braved not only the natural difficulties ordinarily met in such investigations, but for a time prudently suffered the disapproval of his religious colleagues. In the chapters to follow, on the preparation of Franciscan personnel and the counter-movements to the new social order, we will notice that, even in the mission colleges, ethnological studies, like those made by Sahagun, were neglected, and, because of this neglect, the Franciscans grievously erred in some of their policies toward the Indians, suffering serious reverses in their attempts to evangelize and civilize the natives.

Fray Sahagun spent the years 1530 to 1533 in the friary at Tlalmonalco, and was thence transferred to Orizaba until 1536, when he was made professor of Latin at the Franciscan Indian college of Santa Cruz in Tlaltelolco. His administrative ability was also recognized when he was ordered from the quiet of his studies to become official visitor to the Franciscan convents at Puebla and Orizaba; as definitor in his own Holy Gospel province he became general visitor to the neighboring Franciscan province of Michoacán. In 1545 he was elected superior and rector of Holy Cross College.

After completing these administrative duties Sahagun was at length given leisure to pursue his researches, though for a time he was still burdened with the superiorship at the Xochimilco

¹Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, Descripcion de las Indias occidentales, Decada IV, Lib. VI, end of cap. iv. Madrid, 1601.

friary. From 1558 until his death, in Mexico City in 1590, he devoted himself both to college teaching and productive scholarship. For eleven years (1558-1569) he worked on his Historia de las cosas de Nueva España, which he employed in teaching the natives their own environment and through which he preserved to posterity one of the few extant records of the ancient Aztec culture.¹ The manuscript of this work was preserved as the Codice Florentino and Codice Matritense, and was first published by Carlos Bustamante in Mexico in 1829. Modern ethnologists and archeologists have since availed themselves of the Friar's published eight-volume work to reconstruct the Aztec social order from drawings, sketches, and descriptions which Vaillant characterizes as "matchless."² Among the items and activities pictured and described by Sahagun, and which he probably employed as visual and instructional aids in his teachings, are included the gods and goddesses of ancient Mexico, Indian traditions, customs, beliefs, natural and judicial astrology, pagan fiestas, dwellings, food-stuffs, geography, agronomy, art, dancing, architecture, home economics, such as weaving clothes and rugs, preparing foods, and killing animals. Religious ceremonies and rituals, songs and chants, the art and science of war, ways and means of navigation also came in for their share of attention. The biological environment, including the vegetation of mountains and forests, the wild life, the fish and the birds, the deserts and the seas, the reptiles and the amphibious creatures, and helminthological specimens are vividly drawn and sketched, and are probably utilized by Aztec scholars today as much as they were by Sahagun's students almost four hundred years ago. His portrayal of heraldry and its emblems and his drawings of musical instruments vie in excellence with his description of trees, fruit and foliage, flowers and climate. Neither is he unmindful of the moral lessons to be drawn from the passing culture.

¹Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., Historia de las cosas de Nueva España (written during the years 1558 to 1569 and preserved in the Codice Florentino and Codice Matritense). Eight volumes. Madrid: Fototipia de Hauser y Menet, 1905-1907. Two other editions, those of Bustamante (Mexico, 1829) and Robredo (Mexico, 1938) were also consulted. They bear the title, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España.

²Vaillant, op. cit., p. 203.

Sahagun was also greatly interested in the songs of the nation as can be seen from his Aztec songbook Cantares Mexicanos and especially his book of hymns in Aztec, Psalmodia Christiana.¹ This last mentioned volume which is copiously illustrated was investigated by the writer during his visit to the Huntington Collection; it contains psalms and hymns for the main feast-days of the year. From the prologue it is easy to see that Sahagun's philosophy was one of adjustment and gradual change of ideology, since he expressly acquaints the reader with his plans for changing the hymns, which the natives sing to their false gods, into hymns that will honor the true God. It is his conviction that such psalms, hymns, and dances must be substituted, if laws prohibiting idolatrous worship are to be enforced.

The table of contents of the Psalmodia gives us the names of the Christian fiestas for which Sahagun composed songs and hymns; instrumental music and the dance accompanied the singing and chanting of the natives in the patio of their community church to give praise and honor to God and his saints. Thus Fray Bernardino hoped to replace the idolatrous worship and pagan emotional satisfaction with religious celebrations more in harmony with a Christian social order. If we are to believe the author's prologue, he was quite successful in accomplishing his purpose. Hymns in the Mexican language were prepared by him for the following days of fiesta:

- January--Circumcision of Christ, Epiphany, St. Sebastian.
- February--Purification of the Blessed Virgin, St. Matthias, Septuagesima Sunday.
- March--St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Gregory, Archangel Gabriel, St. Joseph, Annunciation of Mary.
- April--Easter, St. Mark, Sundays after Easter.
- May--Sts. Philip and James, Finding of the Cross, Ascension, St. Bernardine, Pentecost, Corpus Christi.
- June--St. Barnabas, St. Anthony of Padua, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Sts. Peter and Paul.
- July--St. Bonaventure, St. Mary Magdalen, St. James Apostle, St. Anne, St. Martha.
- August--Transfiguration of Christ, St. Dominic, St. Lawrence, St. Clare, St. Hippolitus, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, St. Louis, St. Bartholomew, St. Augustine.
- September--Nativity of Mary, Stigmata of St. Francis, St. Matthew, Archangel Michael, St. Jerome.

¹Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M., Psalmodia Christiana, y sermonario delos sanctos del año, en lengua Mexicana . . . En Mexico: . . . en casa de Pedro Ocharte, MDLXXXIII (1583).

October--St. Francis, St. Luke, Sts. Simon and Jude.
 November--All Saints, St. Martin, St. Catherine, St. Andrew.
 December--St. Ambrose, Immaculate Conception of Mary, St.
 Thomas Apostle, Christmas.

A portion of the song for St. Francis day, October 4, is contained among the plates reproduced on the following page.

Sahagun, being both priest and religious, contributed his share to the early religious literature of the missionary period. Aztec language studies show him as the author of a Sermonario (1583), an Evangeliarium, epistolarium et lectionarium Aztecum (1563), some prayerbooks, a life of his patron saint, a treatise on the Christian virtues, and a catechism. An Aztec meditation manuscript written by him in 1574 was examined in the Aztec Collection of Newberry Library. The writing is clear; the syllabification, headings, Latin quotations, and interspersed Spanish explanations aid one in sensing the devotional flavor.¹ Lenhart claims, furthermore, that in addition to these works and Sahagun's three-language (Spanish, Latin, Aztec) dictionary, and his Aztec grammar, some thirteen manuscript works of an educational character have been lost.²

Of especial interest to moderns because of its relation to natural history, pharmacy, and primitive medicine is the so-called Aztec Herbal of 1552, at times referred to as the Badianus Manuscript.³ The attention paid to it during the last two decades is largely due to the efforts of the Maya Society of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, which obtained the co-operation of Cardinal Eugene Tisserant of the Vatican Library, where the original manuscript is preserved as the Codex Barberini, Latin 241.⁴ It is the work of two Aztec Indians, one of whom, Martinus

¹See Ruth Lapham Butler, A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection. Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1937.

²Lenhart, *op. cit.*, p. 110. The Ayer Collection has three authentic and one putative MSS of Sahagun: MSS 1478 (?), 1484, 1485, 1486.

³Emily Walcott Emmart, The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin 241, Vatican Library). An Aztec Herbal of 1552. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940.

⁴Barberini was Cardinal Protector of the Franciscan Order. The De la Cruz--Badiano Aztec Herbal of 1552. Translated and edited by William Gates. Baltimore: The Maya Society, 1939. Publication No. 23, p. iii (pp. xxxii, and illustrations).



PRIMERO

Psalmo.

Y Naxca quimolnamiquilia in tonan-
tzi sancta Iglesia, in vei tlamauiçolli
in quimuchiuli in totēcūo Dios, inipā
pa

pa initlaço in fant Francisco.

In tonemaquistiliz in cemanaoac ti-
tlaca, in tipillhoa in sancta Iglesia, itech
quiza inilnamicoca ininmiliztzi, yoan
inimiquitz in totēcūo Iesu Christo.

In toiaouh, in tlacateculutl, cenca te-
chilcaoaaltia ininmiliztzi, ininimiquitz
in totēcūo Iesu Christo.

In oiuh etzonxiutl momiquili in tote-
cūo Iesu Christo: nouian ilcauhca inine-
miliztzi, ininimiquitz in iehoatz totema
quisticatz.

Auh in iehoatz in totēcūo, inic oqui
moiancuilli inilnamicocatzi, in nouian
cemanaoac, vei tlamauiçolli ipan oqui-
muchuili initlaço in fant Francisco.

In oçtelpuchtzintli, in oçitlan ca, in oç
itlā nemi itatz: ca puchtecatl carca, qual
li yiollo carca: in motolinia cenca quin-
tlaoculia in Francisco.

Ispantzinco omonetoli in totēcūo,
in ic muchipa quintlaoculiz motolinia,
iniquac ipal motlaidanizque.

& çan

de la Cruz, composed it and the other, Juannes Badianus, translated it into Latin.¹ The title, as translated from the Latin, reads: A Little Book of Indian Medicinal Herbs Composed by a Certain Indian, Physician of the College of Santa Cruz, Who Has No Theoretical Learning, but Is Well Taught by Experience Alone. In the Year of Our Lord Savior, 1552. In the prefatory note the author of the herbal dedicates the little volume to Don Francisco Mendoza and his father Don Antonio de Mendoza, who was then viceroy in New Spain, and he signs himself as Martinus de la Cruz. His lack of theoretical learning was probably most noticeable in the arts and in reading the European phonetical alphabet, but certainly not in his own field of practical medicinal remedies.

Now, it will be recalled that the College of Santa Cruz, endowed by the elder Mendoza, was administered and staffed by Franciscan teachers. Juannes Badianus, the translator, was an Indian from Xochimilco where Sahagun was superior of the local Franciscan friary. He must have been an outstanding Latin scholar, since he was lector (a title variously translated as certificated reader, teacher, or professor) of Latin at the same Holy Cross College where the author, Martinus de la Cruz, was physician. Sahagun, who does not seem even to mention the work, was not at Tlaltelolco in 1552, but shortly after was sent to Europe on important business. Father Jacobo de Grado, O.F.M., superior of the convent at Tlaltelolco in 1552, is given credit by the translator for "laying the task upon his shoulders."² Gates divides the honors between the old men of the race to whom the Aztec author owes his knowledge of medical plant values and Sahagun to whom the translator owes his skill in Latin.³ Emmart is of the opinion that recognition "rightly belongs in greater measure to Fray Bernardino, true father of the history of medicine in Mexico, for he awakened the interest in native medicine and gathered together the group of Aztec physicians who gave instruction in their indigenous pharmaceutical remedies. In other words, our present manuscript is the direct result of his inspiration."⁴

¹Emmart, op. cit., p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 25.

³Gates, preface to his translation of the Aztec Herbal, op. cit., p. iii.

⁴Emmart, op. cit., p. 25.

With the following statement Emmart also dismisses the theory that a certain Hernandez guided the author:

A comparison of the Aztec in the Badianus manuscript with that of the manuscripts of Sahagun shows a similarity of spelling for both were written in the same locality. On the other hand, a comparison of the same words in the manuscript of Hernandez, which was written largely in the convent of Huaxtelpec, discloses a considerable difference in spelling from that of Mexico City.¹

Sahagun's Historia de las cosas de Nueva España, previously described, shows considerable acquaintance with native flora and fauna and the uses of various plants in the Tlaltelolco area where the work was written. It does not seem improbable that he received this knowledge from the native physicians there, some of whom he very likely urged to set their practical experiences in medical remedies down in writing; he probably used these as sources in his greatest work.

But why did the Aztec authors of this manuscript not have strictly Indian names? The reasons for this lie pretty much within the realm of opinion; it was frequently the custom, however, to take the Christian names of various friars as their own in baptism. Martin de la Cruz may have taken his name from Fray Martin de Valencia or Fray Martin de Jesus who came to Michoacán in 1525, while Juannes Badianus can, perhaps, trace his appellation to the French Friar Juan Badiano, who accompanied Fray Martin de Jesus to Michoacán.² Both men were probably much indebted to the Indian center of learning at Tlaltelolco of which Fray Sahagun was the pivot and promoter.

Scholars have testified to the genuineness of the manuscript as shown in watermarks and similar criteria. The interior criteria show that, while a great deal of botanical pictographically descriptive literature abounded in Mexico even in pre-conquest days, it was mainly ideographic or iconographic. Gates has pointed out that the eight native physicians, herbalists, or botanists whom Sahagun had with him were not able to read the phonetically alphabetic writing introduced from Europe.³ These "illiterate" experts may be regarded as the oral teachers of

¹Ibid., p. xx.

²Ibid., p. 21.

³Gates, in his introduction to the Mexican botanical system of the Aztec Herbal of 1552, op. cit., p. viii.

Sahagun, whose contribution to botany and medicine consisted in the written transmission through his students of a considerable amount of plant description and medicinal therapy that was not rooted in magic and superstition, but had a respectable, if not scientific, synonymy, taxonomy, classification, glossology, and iconography.¹

The recent scholarly work of Zulaica Garate² illustrates the importance and the variety of the Franciscan contribution to printing and productive scholarship in the New World. Zumárraga,³ rather than Mendoza, stands out as the principal influence in the introduction of printing in Mexico; this fact is proven on the basis of priority of time, but it can also be confirmed by the educational leadership exerted by the Franciscan bishop and his consistent work to communicate the backbone and structure of Christian civilization to the natives. Already on August 1, 1528 Mexico's first diocesan prelate negotiated with Juan Cronberger, printer of Seville,⁴ but it seems that all attempts to have a Doctrina Christiana actually accepted for printing on Mexican soil failed until 1538-1539.⁵ Medina quotes a memorial which Zumárraga addressed to the Council of the Indies toward the end of 1533 to the effect that it would really be very useful and convenient to have a printing press in New Spain as well as a paper mill; the king should, therefore, be urged to send several men who understood the art of printing and the Council should provide funds for the support of this project.⁶ Shortly after 1538 the bishop's own doctrinas and tracts began issuing from the presses of Juan Cronberger, Juan Pablos, and Gil Barbero. The Manual de adultos of 1540 is largely his work and shows his interest in adult education, just as his two-level doctrinas, previously described, indi-

¹Ibid., pp. xiv-xxii.

²Román Zulaica Garate, Los Franciscanos y la imprenta en Mexico en el siglo XVI. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939.

³Ibid., p. 18.

⁴Wagner, Mexican Imprints (1544-1600) in the Huntington Library, p. 4.

⁵Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁶Medina, La imprenta en Mexico, I, xxxiii-xxxiv.

cate his appreciation of various levels of mental acumen among the children for whom the friars established schools. Zumárraga, therefore, encouraged and assisted the priests and brothers of his Order in supplying the natives with such reading materials as would be instrumental in shifting the social core-values, and to accelerate this process, he used the most modern of the then known inventions, namely, printing.

Gante, the greatest full-time educator in Spanish North America, was not outdone by the bishop; his illustrated religious textbook or reader of 1553 has already been described. While some bibliophiles¹ claim it was printed much earlier (1528), we must be careful to distinguish therefrom an earlier work of Brother Ghent,² the title-page of which is reproduced in this volume. That work is also adapted for use as a reader. Wagner and Icazbalceta agree with Zulaica that the work is Gante's, and is probably to be dated 1547, but Wagner, who considers it the first edition of the 1553 version, remarks that his conclusion was arrived at

. . . . largely by comparing the state of the shield that surrounds the small cut in the center of the title-page with the same cut as used in earlier books. The large cut with the shield had been in use for some time and showed progressive signs of deterioration so that on the title-page of this book nothing much was left of the shield but the two parallel lines on each side of the small insert. It is most interesting to observe that in the small cut in the center (which does not form a part of the large woodcut) is a scene in which a priest is saying something in the Tarascan language which signifies "This is the Word of God!" The idiom used is entirely out of place in a book in the Mexican language and the appearance of the woodcut is a reminder that, although no book in this language is now known earlier than the Arte of Father Gilberti, printed in 1558, one had been projected in 1538.³

Historical sociologists and moral theologians find the Confession Books⁴ and the Counsels for the Confessors of the Na-

¹Zulaica, op. cit., p. 66.

²Gante, Doctrina xpiana en l8gua Mexicana. Mexico: Juan Pablos, 1547 (?). Fols. 103.

³Wagner, Mexican Imprints (1544-1600) in the Huntington Library, pp. 13-15.

⁴Joan Baptista, O.F.M., Confessionario en lengua Mexicana y Castellana. Mexico: En Sanctiago Tlatilulco, por Melchior Ocharte, 1599. Fols. 112 + 3. In the Henry E. Huntington Collec-



Fig. 41.--Title-page of Ghent's *Doctrina Christiana* published in Mexico, probably in 1547. (Courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Collection, San Marino, California.)

tives¹ written by Molina, Baptista, and others, highly useful in grouping the moral scene and surveying the social conditions of the environment in which the friars worked. Fray Baptista was a good linguist, but was engaged as professor of theology at Holy Cross College when these works, which attest to the prevalent unfortunate morals and mores and their remedies, were written. He was later transferred to administrative positions. Other works of Fray Juan Baptista include an ecclesiastical dictionary, a novel, Flower of the Saints, and three books of Mexican comedies.²

Fray Gaona's colloquies on peace and Christian tranquility³ show the impressions which the friars were making in transforming the native sense of values from "animal to spiritual" considerations. Fray Michael à zarate is pictured in the accompanying reproduction as a poor friar of St. Francis, engaged in securing this transformation by educating the natives in the Christian technique of rationally disciplining themselves, overcoming the debasement of sin, and thus finding true happiness and peace. Zarate himself later outlined a baptismal ritual.⁴ Gaona taught rhetoric and philosophy⁵ at Holy Cross College and was later on guardian at Xochimilco, which was a house of studies for the training of Franciscan personnel.

A high degree of censorship was exercised by both church

tion, San Marino, California; Fr. Francisco Pareja, O.F.M., Confessionario en lengua Castellana y Timuquana (Floridana). Mexico, 1613. Fols. 230. In the John Carter Brown Collection, Providence, Rhode Island.

¹Fr. Joan Baptista, O.F.M., Advertencias, para los confesores de los naturales. Segunda Parte. En Mexico: En el convento de Santiago Tlatilulco, Por M. Ocharte, año 1600. Fols. 104.

²Zulaica, op. cit., p. 224.

³Fr. Juan de Gaona, O.F.M., Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad Christiana, en lengua Mexicana. En Mexico: En casa de Pedro Ocharte, MDLXXII. Fols. 121. In the Henry E. Huntington Collection, San Marino, California.

⁴Fr. Miguel de Zarate, O.F.M., Forma brevis administrandi apud indos sanctum baptismi sacramentum juxta ordinem S.R. Ecclesiae ... ex concessione S.S. Pauli Papae III. Mexico: Apud Petrum Ochartum, 1583. Latin American Collection, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Pp. 72.

⁵See Zulaica, op. cit., pp. 184 et seq. for further works by Gaona.

COLLOQUIOS. I.

COLLOQUIOS DE

la Paz, y tranquilidad Christia

na. Interlocutores: vn Re

ligioso, y vn Collegial.

CAP. I. QVOD APPETI-

tus, & desideriu terrenorū, insipida

faciunt, & graua opera spiritualia:

& q̄ Diabolus à paruis incipit ten-

tare, vt decipiat in maioribus.

CAP. I. VN CAN MI TO A,

in quenin cencaticamachō, recq̄

çocamacho in teoyotica nemiliz-

tli: iniquac cenca cleuilo, neicoltq̄

lo tlaticpacayotl: yuan in quenin

teaulpeualtia tlatateculotl, inic

tlatlacolpan tetlaçaz, temayauiz.

P A D R E.

Laocxinallauh no

piltze. (Collegial.)

Notarine, que-

nin, cuix itlaç (Pa-

dre.) Yequezquil

huitlin naitziz-

A



FRATER MICHAEL

a çarare, Pauper.

Fig. 42.--Folios from Fray Gaona's Mexican and Spanish dialogue on peace and Christian tranquillity. He composed this while professor of philosophy at Tlatelolco and Xochimilco; it was published in Mexico in 1582. (Courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Collection, San Marino, California.)

and state over the productive scholarship of early Spanish-American writers. While researching in the Mexican National Archives frequent allusions were found to licenses that had been granted to printers of Franciscan writings. Specifically mentioned were the Grammar and Life of St. Francis of Molina,¹ the Confession Manual, Hieroglyphs of Conversion, and The Life and Death of the Three Children of the Chieftains of Tlaxcala, written by Fray Juan Bautista.²

The universal adoption of texts and charts and the approval of translations of works into native idioms was made compulsory by the canons of various hierarchical councils, juntas, and synods, such as that held in 1556³ in which Archbishop Alonso Montufar, O.P., of Mexico City, Bishop Vasco de Quiroga of Michoacán, Bishop Martín de Hoja Castro, O.F.M., of Tlaxcala, and Bishop Tomas Casillas, of Chiapa, participated. The Franciscan textbook idea and method was adopted and made mandatory, special permission was made necessary for erecting images, and instrumental music was to be restricted and tempered except where religious or secular clergy could be on hand to supervise it properly.

Two facts seem to stand out prominently in this analysis of Franciscan productive scholarship. The first is that most of the authors were closely associated with educational work, especially in advanced schools of learning. Secondly, a very large percentage of the printed material still extant had strictly functional purposes. The grammars, dictionaries, primers, and catechisms were opportunely and expediently written to facilitate the transmission of Christian ideals and practices in a foreign social milieu. Almost nothing is known about the numbers of copies printed and circulated among the populations of various tribes and regions, but, judging from the numerous common schools established by the Friars Minor, the influence of Franciscan literary activity probably reached out extensively in its contacts

¹Archivo General de la Nacion, Estados Unidos Mexicanos--General de Parte, Tomo I, 1576, Index, pp. 56-57.

²Ibid., Tomo V, 1599, fol. 12 (v.); 1601, fol. 295.

³Constitutiones del arçobispado y provincia dela muy insigne y muy leal ciudad de Tenuxtitlan, Mexico, dela Nueva España, fols. 49. Mexico: Juan Pablos, Máluj (1556). In the Henry E. Huntington Collection, San Marino, California.

and gripped rather firmly and intensively those fluid elements which figured heavily in congealing the new social order.

CHAPTER XIII

ADMINISTRATION, SUPERVISION, AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The forces behind the movement to change the social order of New Spain were both civil and ecclesiastic; in fact, these forces were joined because of the then prevalent union of church and state. Hence, the schools were at one and the same time both state and church schools. Their officials and teachers were mainly members of religious orders, but they were periodically visited, inspected, and supervised by emissaries of the emperor and the ecclesiastical authority.

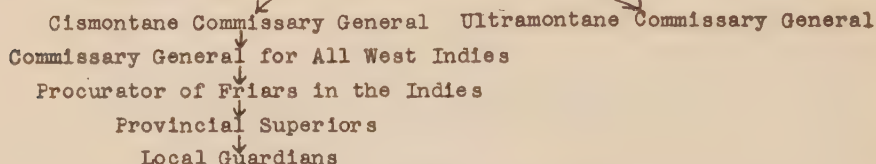
An anonymous author, probably not a Franciscan, in a letter dated October 6, 1571, writes of the grand success attained by the friars in their work of instructing the Indians and laments their departure.

The principal progress among the Indians (at least in New Spain) in our Christian culture are due (as Your Majesty knows) to the friars of St. Francis, for they are the ones who have taken the responsibility of teaching in almost all the main pueblos of these same provinces and are, therefore, the ministers whom the same natives esteem with great affection and devotion.¹

He ascribes their success to good administration and insists that their successors profit by their long experience. From this letter one receives, incidentally, a very clear and pointed account of the over-all Franciscan administration; the following diagram illustrates the general line organization. The distinction between the cismontane and ultramontane groups, effected in 1517 mainly for geographical reasons of expedient administration, did not effect the general unity of government.

¹"El orden con que los religiosos de San Francisco que residen en Indias podrian ser regidos mejor que ahora, y hacer mas fruits en aquella obra," S. Francisco de Vitoria, October 6, 1571, *Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España*, of *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México*, I, 125.

General of the Order



The writer of the letter, who was a member of a religious order working in Mexico in 1571, lays special stress upon the organic centralization of administration. Responsibility was definitely fixed in a unified command while ample authority was delegated for the expeditious handling of instructions, permissions, reports, and general supervision. Thus the friars always had a commissary general for the West Indies, through whom alone all negotiations with the Cismontane Commissary General and the General of the Order were handled. The election of the commissary general of the West Indies was made by the general chapter of the Order, after taking counsel with the Real consejo de Indias in the name of his majesty.

The traditional Franciscan policy of having the commissary general of the Indies reside in Seville, the port city to the Indies, rather than in the Indies itself, was ably defended by the writer; he considered this policy advisable for the following reasons. The importance of this key position demanded close collaboration with the king's court and the office of the higher Franciscan officials, which would have been impossible otherwise, due to the slowness of travel and communication of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, there was a better chance to secure necessary facilities and privileges to help the friars in their work, while remaining impartial in their more or less petty disputes in the field. Having been chosen for his specialized understanding of Indies' affairs, the commissary could give specific instructions to departing friars, could examine them on their fitness for the work, and could discipline such, who, on their return to Spain, might seek mercenary reward in secular merchandising at home.¹

¹Ibid., pp. 126 et seq.

The commissary general of the Indies appointed another religious in New Spain to be the Procurador de los frailes de Indias. Thus, there was on the scene an individual with immediate responsibility to minister to the needs of the personnel. Neither must it be forgotten that, in a relatively short time, independent provinces had been erected with their own provincials and definitorial counsels, guardians, and local discretoriums. Thus line and staff relationships were well marked out and contributed their share to the efficient missionary and educational ventures of the Order.

The anonymous author, above quoted, cites several other details of Franciscan administration which in his opinion accounted for the unusual success of the friars' project.¹ The commissary general insisted that the friars be sent out in groups and that they keep a day by day accounting of their expenditures. This policy was very much in accordance with the counsel of St. Francis, that the brethren travel at least in companies of two, and with their vow of poverty, which forbade all independent use of material goods. In order to better communicate official instructions, and to inspect, supervise, and control the situation at a distance, the commissary general of the Indies periodically sent two official commissary visitors, one for the provinces of Peru and the other for the provinces of New Spain, who were required to submit memorials on their findings. Administrative regard for stability among the missionaries is another point in their favor. The first step was a voluntary one. Individual friars had to offer their services, in writing, to their respective provincial ministers; from these lists of volunteers the superiors selected such as were suitable for the work and possessed the qualities of healthy living, good example, and prudent judgment. Finally, they were sent letters of obedience commanding them to undertake their work in the New World. These letters usually held for a term of approximately eight years, and could then be either renewed or rescinded.

The writer of the document under consideration is, perhaps, enthusiastically partial to the value of good administration; yet, discounting for possible exaggerations, one is, nevertheless,

¹Ibid., pp. 125-132.

aware of the clearly defined and efficiently organized line and staff relations of the Franciscan plan of organization.

The internal organization of Franciscan education in New Spain followed the provincial and custodial patterns in general outline. As the friars reached individual pueblos they immediately set up so-called doctrinas intended for formal instruction; these became escuelas, if and when the friars established convents of their Order in the respective pueblos.

Perhaps the clearest idea of the Franciscan provincial and custodial set-up in New Spain can be deduced from the report of Fr. Francis de Ocaña, O.F.M., commissary general of the Indies from 1631-1641, made to Francis Barberini, Cardinal Protector of the Order, on March 6, 1635, and just recently printed from the Barberini Collection in the Vatican Library.¹

While the De Ocaña report covers a wider territory than New Spain, it is significant to note that the friars who worked in the kingdom of Peru, the Philippines, Japan, and the Spanish section of the present United States actually branched out from New Spain, especially from the province of the Holy Gospel, and continued the same type of educational organization in new fields of mission work.

That the plan of organization to be given was educational, and not merely religious, is proved in the final page summary of the report where De Ocaña plainly states:

The work of all these religious continues from morning till night, since they teach the Indians not only in spiritual matters such as the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith, but also the policies in all the arts, for which reason in all the provinces they conduct schools next to the churches and convents; hence, if the continual assistance of religious should fail, as the spring (primer móvil) of a watch, the mechanism would stop (la machina faltaría).²

The eldest of the still extant provinces or custodies

¹Franciscus de Ocaña, O.F.M., "Relación acerca del presente feliz estado de las Indias Occidentales en la apostolica administración de los santos sacramentos y comberción de los Indios por los religiosos de nuestro seraphico padre San Francisco. Hasta el año de 1635." No. 3560 in Cod. lat. Barberini, Vatican Library. First published by Fr. Joseph Póu y Martí in Archivo-Ibero-Americana, XXVII, 224-250; XXVIII, 69-92; XXX, 52-70. Madrid, 1914.

²Ibid., XXX, 69.

(now called commissariats) is that of the Holy Gospel in Mexico City, Tescuco, Tlascala, Guaxosingo, and surrounding territory; in 1534 it became the mother province for the missions and educational foundations of the Franciscans in a great portion of New Spain. Founded by Fray Martin of Valencia and the devoutly designated "twelve apostles" of Mexico, it witnessed the educational leadership of Zumárraga and Ghent among the Aztec Indians and the attempts of Fr. Alonso de Beñavides and Fr. Juan de Lormendi to improve both religiously, educationally, and politically the newly imported and enslaved Negroes.

At the time of Ocaña's "Relación" there were at least two custodies¹ (conversion of S. Paul of New Mexico and San Salvador de Tampico) subject to the jurisdiction of the Holy Gospel province.² In New Mexico such friars as Mark of Nizza who visited the territory as early as 1540, Juan de la Cruz, Juan de Padilla, Juan de Escalona, and Pedro de Ortega (a natural Indian of Mexico) built churches and schools and taught reading, writing, religion, civics, and industrial arts to many tribes including the Piras, Tompiros, Troas, Querestaros, Teoas, Emes, Apaches, and so on.³ In the custody of San Salvador de Tampico the educational work among the Guachichiles, Salimeros, and Guasticos had the unique feature of being integrated through the music arts because of the special interest of Padre Olmos.⁴

The province of San Joseph de Yucatan was an offshoot of the Holy Gospel province, as was also the province de San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, which, at one time, had been united with the province of Jalisco. The report gives special credit to the friars of Michoacán who utilized the artistic talents of the natives and through the teaching of the pictorial arts helped to make a comparatively peaceful people out of the ferocious Tarascas and Guastecos.⁵ In the province of Michoacán at a later date was situated the noted Franciscan mission college of Querétaro, where

¹A custody was an organizational unit partially independent but in major matters responsible to its mother province.

²Vetancurt, Chronica de la provincia de Santo Evangelio, III, 285-286.

³De Ocaña, op. cit., XXVII, 233.

⁴Ibid., p. 240.

⁵Ibid., p. 243.

many of the Order's future missionaries were trained for territories which opened as the Spanish conquests inched forward. The custody de Santa Catalina de Rioberde which was begun in 1622 was under the jurisdiction of the Michoacán province ministered to the needs of several cannibal tribes. The province of Santo Domingo and Española (Haiti), which saw the primeval work of the friars in New Spain was erected into a fully organized unit for missionary and educational work already in 1505, but soon cast its lot with Franciscan projects in South America. About one hundred and fifty friars worked among the tribes of the Coras and Tepeuanes in the province de Santiago de Nueva Galicia o Xalisco, which had been united with Michoacán till the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was from their establishments in New Galicia that the Franciscans eventually penetrated into California en la mar del Sur. Some fifty friars died heroic deaths at the hands of the Chichimecos, Tipovones, Conchos, Tobosos, and Tarau- manes who inhabited the territory comprising the Franciscan province de San Francisco de Zacatecas, which, incidentally, conducted a house of studies for students of the arts and theology who wished to become Franciscan priests.¹ An autonomous mission college was in later years organized at Zacatecas for the training of the Order's missionary personnel in newly conquered lands; the Zacatecas province supervised the custody of Sonora in 1783.

The second oldest² province in New Spain was the provincia del Santo Nombre de Jesus de Guatemala (1566) which had a Franciscan personnel of 200 friars engaged in preaching, teaching, and administering the sacraments, and at the time of Ocaña's report comprised the three bishoprics of Guatemala, Honduras, and Chiapa. It supervised the custody of Cumayagua and later, in 1586, that of Santa Catarina de Honduras which became an independent province in 1594.³

The cannibal tribe of the Necas received their instructions at the seventeen convents comprising the province de San Jorge de Nicaragua, while the ten friaries in the province de

¹Ibid., p. 247.

²Guatemala was a custody of Holy Gospel province (1541-1566). Vasquez, op. cit., I, 103.

³Ibid., p. 278.

San Diego de los Descalzos furnished the staff that taught the natives located in the valley of San Martin of Tlascalala. From the last mentioned province friars were sent to the Philippine Islands and Japan.

Toward the end of the sixteenth, or about the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Franciscans built a friary in the pueblo of St. Augustine, Florida, which later expanded into a custody subject to the Holy Gospel province and finally became the independent province de Santa Elena de la Florida for ministering to the spiritual, intellectual, and social needs of such tribes as the Apalaches, Gaules, Timucanas, and Tarchuas. That there was a Franciscan school in the pueblo of St. Augustine as early as 1602 is evinced by the fact that Padre Francisco de Avila seemed to have difficulty in securing food for the lads he had in his school (porque los muchachos que había tenido en su escuela).¹ Some seven friars who were located at the convent in St. Augustine in 1602 were engaged in teaching (enseñando).² It was in Florida that Padre Francisco Pareja developed a short method of learning to read the Timucana language which was helpful for both teachers and catechumens.³ Furthermore, in the Florida province Padre Bartolome Romero taught agriculture⁴ and Padre Diego Rodriguez instructed the Cotacochonos and the Amacanas in mechanics.⁵

From the province of the Holy Gospel the Franciscans also advanced into Peru, Panama, Granada, Chile, Quito, Charcas, and Paraguay where the university of Cordoba came under their jurisdiction. Ocaña's statistics on Peru and New Spain reveal that in 1635 there were more than three million Catholic Indians and innumerable Spaniards in these regions under the care of some five thousand Franciscans working out of six hundred friaries. Furthermore, there were forty convents of the second Order of St. Francis, commonly called Poor Clares, and a large number of Indian and Spanish members of the Third Order.⁶

Summarizing these data and synchronizing them as far as

¹De Ocaña, op. cit., XXVIII, 86.

²Ibid., p. 85.

³Ibid., p. 87.

⁴Ibid., p. 90.

⁵Ibid., p. 91.

⁶Ibid., XXX, 69.

possible with Habig's findings,¹ the following table and the accompanying map are presented to clarify the Franciscan administrative units in Spanish North America. The dates are approximate and incomplete.

Franciscan Provinces and Custodies in Spanish North America

1. The Holy Cross Province of Española (Haiti and Santo Domingo): 1505-1559.
2. The Holy Gospel Custody and Province of Mexico City: 1523-1534--the present.
3. Our Savior Custody of Tampico: 1565--.
4. The Conversion of St. Paul Custody of New Mexico: 1622--.
5. The St. Joseph Province of Yucatan: 1559--.
6. The Sts. Peter and Paul Province of Michoacán: 1565--the present.
7. The Santa Catalina Custody of Rio Verde: 1621--.
8. The St. James Province of Xalisco: 1606--the present.
9. The Holy Name of Jesus Custody and Province of Guatemala: 1541-1566.
10. The Custody of Cumayagua.
11. The St. Catherine Custody and Province of Honduras: 1586-1594.
12. The St. Francis Province of Zacatecas: 1603--.
13. The Custody of Sonora: 1783--.
14. The St. George Province of Nicaragua: 1575--.
15. The St. Didacus Province of Tlaxcala: 1599--.
16. The St. Helen Custody and Province of Florida: 1606--.

Many of the provinces were custodies (the modern term is "commissariat") before they were erected into full-fledged autonomous religious territorial units, consisting of a number of friaries duly formed as guardianates, presided over by a minister provincial who was subject only to the minister general of the whole Order. The superior of a custody, who is called a custos, custodian, or commissary, is responsible ordinarily to his minister provincial in matters of great import affecting the commissariat; he is independent in minor affairs.

A number of the extant memorials, relations, or reports of the commissary and visitors general of the provinces of New Spain have specific references to the education of the Indians and the preparation of the friars for that undertaking. Thus, they insist in their instructions to the guardians of the various friaries, and to the friars collectively, that they have a functional knowledge of the Indian language. They are likewise

¹Marion A. Habig, O.F.M., "The Franciscan Provinces of Spanish North America," *The Americas*, I, 88-96, 215-230. Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1944.

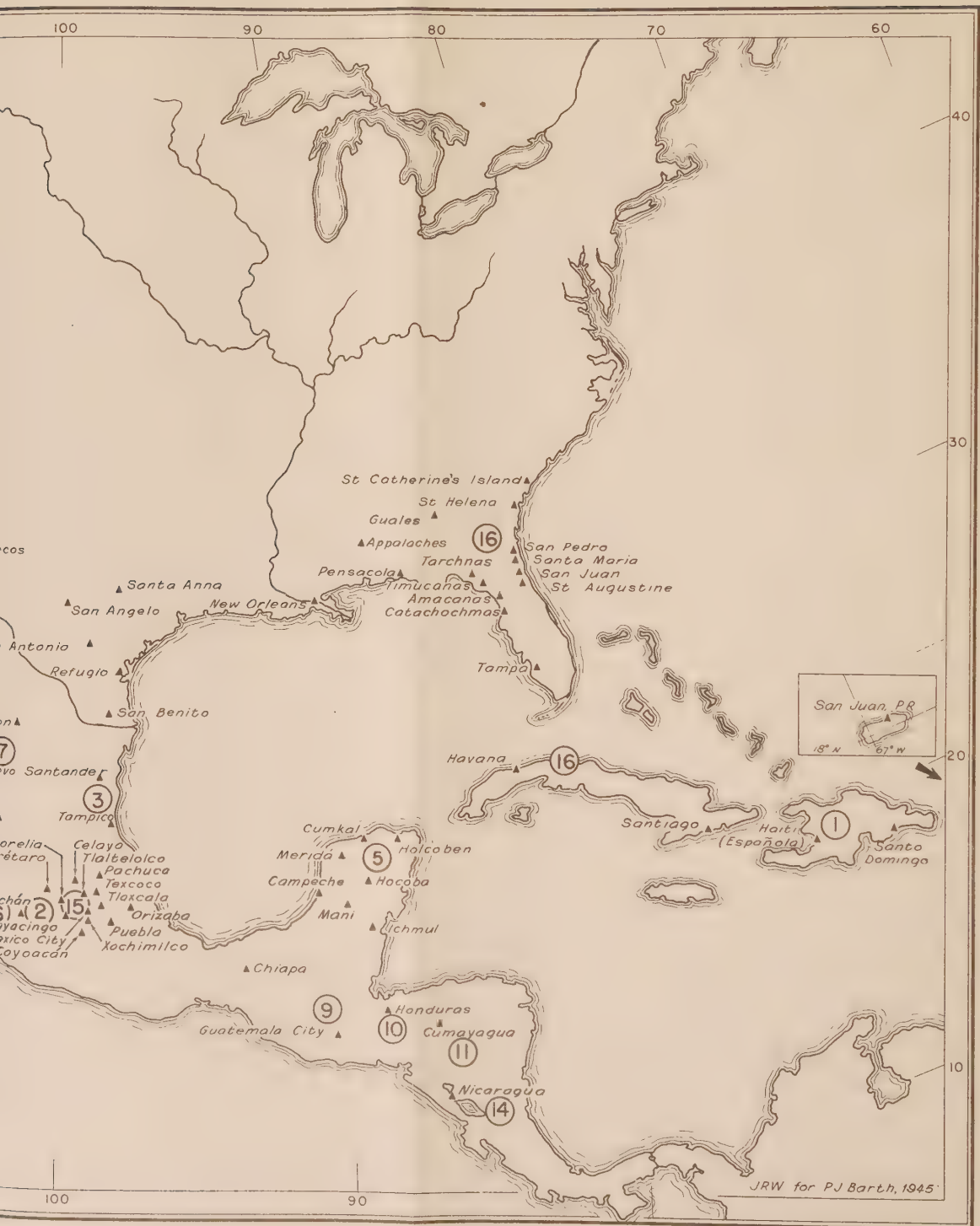
MAIN FRANCISCAN EDUCATIONAL FOCI

FRANCISCAN PROVINCES AND CUSTODIES IN SPANISH NORTH AMERICA

- ① HOLY CROSS PROVINCE OF ESPANOLA (HAITI), 1505-1559
- ② HOLY GOSPEL PROVINCE OF MEXICO CITY, 1534
- ③ OUR SAVIOR CUSTODY OF TAMPICO, 1565
- ④ CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL CUSTODY OF NEW MEXICO, 1622
- ⑤ ST. JOSEPH PROVINCE OF YUCATAN, 1559
- ⑥ STs. PETER AND PAUL PROVINCE OF MICHOACHAN, 1565
- ⑦ SANTA CATALINA CUSTODY OF RIO VERDE, 1621
- ⑧ ST. JAMES PROVINCE OF XALISCO, 1606
- ⑨ HOLY NAME OF JESUS CUSTODY AND PROVINCE OF GUATEMALA, 1541; 1566
- ⑩ ST. CATHERINE CUSTODY AND PROVINCE OF HONDURAS, 1586; 1594
- ⑪ CUSTODY OF CUMAYAGUA
- ⑫ ST. FRANCIS PROVINCE OF ZACATECAS, 1603
- ⑬ CUSTODY OF SONORA, 1783
- ⑭ ST. GEORGE PROVINCE OF NICARAGUA, 1575
- ⑮ ST. DIDACUS PROVINCE OF TLAXCALA, 1599
- ⑯ ST. HELEN CUSTODY AND PROVINCE OF FLORIDA, 1606



SPANISH NORTH AMERICA (1502-1821)



insistent in their demand for the education of all the children of all the people. This solicitude stems from the educational interest of the highest supervisory and administrative officers in the Order.

Let special care be exercised that all the children who have attained the age of six years be rounded up and together with the sons of the common people who are called macehuales are to be given Christian doctrine instruction in the patios of the churches; and the same holds for the girls whether they be daughters of the chieftains or of the macehuales, until they have learned; and the children, sons of the chieftains are to be taught in schools, first, Christian doctrine, and then to read, and write, and the other matters of propriety and good customs; they [the friars] are to employ all possible diligence in their teaching.¹

This preceptive instruction to all the major superiors of the Order is indicative of the definite unity of democratic educational policy among Franciscan administrators, at least as regards elementary Indian education. It insists upon the education of girls as well as boys, wants the children of the common people as well as those of the aristocracy educated in Christian doctrine, but for reasons elsewhere indicated distinguishes between the places of education and the extent of the curriculum for the children of the common people and those of the Indian aristocracy. This democratic ideal of a common Christian education was aided by the introduction of the monitorial system in larger Indian centers; the report is silent on the education of Spanish children, creoles, and mestizos.

Other sections of the report stress the evaluation of the instruction given. In particular, those Indians are to be examined for sufficiency of knowledge who are to administer the sacrament of baptism in case of necessity; likewise, the friars, in their examinations, are diligently to determine whether any superstitions or heresies are held by the Indians under their tutelage.

The union of church and state, so prevalent in Europe

¹"Copia y relacion de la instrucción que traen consigo los provinciales desta provincia del Santo Evangelio, y de la instrucción de los visitadores desta dicha Orden, y cómo lo cumplen" (pp. 161-165), and "Las cosas que el comisario general de las provincias de la Nueva España ha de inquirir en ella entre los religiosos, cerca de la doctrina de los Indios, y hacer que se guarden, si no se guarden (p. 164), Codice Franciscano, Nueva colección de documentos de la historia de Mexico, II, 161-165.

until the modern revolutions, was naturally transferred to Spanish North America. It figured prominently in the organization and administration of Franciscan education. No prelate elected in the Indies was permitted to exercise his office unless he had received his letters patent from the government.¹ This dependence on the civil government may at times have worked hardships and limited the freedom of election, but it also had its bright spots since, without government support, many of the Franciscan educational projects would have been almost impossible. Government support meant a certain amount of government control, but the advantages seem to have outweighed the disadvantages. Thus the schools founded for the education of the children of the natives were favored by numerous decrees and the Emperor Charles, the Queen, and the Emperor Philip II urged the building and maintenance of such institutions in all the leading cities not only in 1535, but again in 1540, 1554, 1576, 1619, and 1620.² According to Spanish law, the friars sent to the colonies were considered as emissaries of the crown;³ hence, they enjoyed some privileges and immunities, including the right of appeal from decisions of the local authorities--a privilege quite frequently used.⁴

Supervisory inspection of educational institutions was ordered by the crown. A law of 1552 ordered an annual visitation

¹"Que los prelados electos en las Indias no usen sus oficios sin manifestar las patentes en el Gobierno," D. Felipe II, en la Ordenanza, 15 del Patronazgo de 1574, Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias (En quatro tomos), Tomo I, Lib. I, Tit. XIV, Ley LXIIII, fol. 70. En Madrid: Por Julian de Paredes, 1681.

²"Que sean favorecidas los colegios fundados para criar hijos de caciques, y se funden otros en las ciudades principales," En quatro tomos, Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, Tomo I, Lib. I, Tit. XXIII, Ley XI, fol. 122. En Madrid: Por Julian de Paredes, 1681.

³"Que los religiosos claustrales, extra-claustrales, terceros de San Francisco y exemptos, sean eviados á estos reynos," El Emperador D. Carlos en Burgos a 17 de junio de 1524, En quatro tomos, Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, Tomo I, Lib. I, Tit. XIV, Ley LXXXVI, fol. 73. En Madrid: Por Julian de Paredes, 1681.

⁴"Carta de Fray Juan de La Puerta, comisario, y de otros franciscanos de la provincia de Yucatan, al real consejo de Indias, haciendo presente las modificaciones que era necesario introducir en el buen gobierno y régimen de aquella provincia," Merida, 1 de febrero de 1547 (Facsimile I), Cartas de Indias, No. XI, pp. 67-69.

of the school for girls in Mexico City by the viceroys. This decree reads as follows:

We command our viceroys of New Spain to visit each year according to schedule (the actual viceroy one year, and a judge of the royal audiencia of Mexico nominated by him, in another year) the college of protected girls (colegio de las niñas recogidas) to look into the teaching and necessary shelter and the persons who direct them. They should observe if the pupils grow in virtue and occupy themselves well in the things that pertain to the service of God, and make suitable progress. They shall note for what purposes and in what manner the funds are spent, the condition of the building, the things that are very praiseworthy, and other affairs which can help and favor the existing conditions and how they might aid in other similar matters which they find.¹

Such detailed inspection by government officers and especially the examination of religious aspects of the school would hardly be tolerated in much of North America today, even though such schools were unable to exist without government aid. But, in Spanish North America the government paid the piper and the government often called the tune. This was also true as regards the curriculum.

The Franciscans from the beginning had followed the policy of learning the various Indian languages and dialects, of writing grammars and building vocabularies for their correct use by friars, encomenderos, and the natives themselves. This was a great psychological factor in Franciscan success in handling the natives and must have irked government officials and secular clergy who lacked this direct approach and the captivating benevolence of being able to express themselves in the language of another. By 1550 a law had been enacted requiring the Indians to learn Spanish in special schools; apparently, the Franciscans and others who had been teaching the Indians for almost a half century in the West Indies and many parts of Mexico had refused to incorporate Castilian into the usual course of study. Their reasons are uncertain and open to conjecture. Perhaps, they did not want to overburden the natives with learning a foreign language and thus make religious education odious to them, or, perhaps,

¹"Que los virreyes visiten cada año el colegio de las niñas de Mexico, y le favorezcan, en la fuema que se ordena," El Emperador D. Carlos y el Principa en Monzon de Aragon a 18 de diziembre de 1552, En quarto tomos, Recopilación de los leyes de los reynos de las Indias, Tomo I, Lib. I, Tit. III, Ley XVIII, fol. 13.

they wanted to keep the Indians under their own direct influence, so that no one ignorant of tribal dialects could influence them unknown to the friars. Or, did the religious, to whom most of the education was committed, fear that the inevitable secularization of their work would be accelerated by the teaching of Spanish? Whatever the reason, it certainly could not have been the one alleged in the imperial decree. The fathers had taught the Catholic faith successfully to many tribes without the aid of the Spanish language; men, like Fray Jacobo de Testera, O.F.M., had invented their own systems of hieroglyphics to explain the Christian doctrine. But, in 1550 the government charged that the Indians must learn Spanish, because not even the most perfect native language could well express the doctrines of Christianity. It is true that a great variety of dialects existed, but certainly it is easier for an academically trained priest, brother, or nun to master several Indian dialects than to require the vanquished illiterate Indians to learn the language of their conquerors. This decree, which specifically dictates curriculum content, reads as follows in a free translation:

Having made a particular examination as to whether the more perfect language of the Indians could well and properly express the mysteries of our Holy Catholic Faith, it appears that this is impossible without occasioning great dissonances and imperfections, and even though chairs were founded where priests¹ were instructed in the manner of teaching the Indians, this is not a sufficient remedy because of the great variety of languages. In order to have results it behooves that Spanish be introduced and we order that the Indians be given teachers who will instruct those who voluntarily seek to acquire it as these will be less troublesome and costly. It is our opinion that these teachers can well be the sacristans² as in the villages of these kingdoms where they teach reading, writing and christian doctrine.³

Mass education in the pueblos organized for the Indian

¹The term sacerdotes (not padres) is used to indicate they were secular priests and not members of a religious order.

²These sacristans were not religious lay-brothers but secular sextons or custodians of churches.

³"Que donde fuere possible se pongan escuelas de la lengua Castellana, para que la aprenden los Indios," El Emperador D. Carlos y los reyes de Bohemia G.- en Valladolid a 7 de junio y à 17 de julio de 1550," Recopilación de los leyes de los reynos de las Indias, Tomo II, Lib. VI, Tit. I, Ley XVIII, fol. 190.

population, by and large, followed the pattern of the encomienda. According to a royal order, issued by Philip II in 1571, the encomienda represented

. . . . a right granted by Royal Grace to the deserving of the Indies to receive and collect for themselves the tributes of the Indians that shall be given them in trust, for their life and the life of one heir with the charge of looking after the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indians and of dwelling in and defending the Provinces where they are given them in trust and of doing homage and making personal oath to fulfill all this.¹

The encomenderos, to whom the Indians were assigned, had to pay for the sustenance of the priests and were obligated to bring the children to the monasteries to be taught.² Article Eight of the laws of Burgos, promulgated on December 27, 1512, states that the children, of thirteen and under, of the caciques or chieftains were to be placed in charge of the Franciscans and taught religion, reading, and writing, and, at the end of four years, were to be returned to the respective encomenderos.³ This organization was followed even after the passing of the encomienda system, also in non-Mexican territory, such as the southwestern sections of the present United States, where "the Franciscans took charge of the instruction of the inhabitants by setting up an extensive system of monasteries in its pueblos."⁴

The first official document of its kind which emphasized the maintenance of closed villages or reductions with churches, priests, and schools as agencies of conversion and civilization emanated from Saragossa in 1503.⁵ That the obligation of the

¹"Cedula of Philip II, 1571," as quoted by Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política Indiana*, I, 237 (1629-1639). Madrid: M. Sacristan (edition of 1776).

²Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain*, p. 105. University of California Publications in History, Vol. XIX. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1929.

³Las Casas, *Historia*, III, 417-438; Herrera, *Historia general*, I, 323-325.

⁴Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, *Mercurio volante*, pp. 54-55. Originally published in 1693, Mexico City. Translated by Irving A. Leonard. Los Angeles, California: The Quivira Society, 1932.

⁵"Instrucción para el gobernador é oficiales sobre gobierno de las Indias, l é lo que en ello se debe observar. De Zaragoza: á 29 de marzo de 1503," Colección de documentos inéditos

encomenderos was not simply satisfied by religious education is plainly stated in this same instruction, namely, that "they are to do those other things which are necessary to being well taught."¹ Six months before the laws of Burgos were promulgated the Franciscan Provincial of Santiago was ordered by the crown to send forty learned friars to teach the Indians on the islands of Cuba, Jamaica, and San Juan.² In 1536 the encomenderos were again reminded of their strict duties to teach and instruct the Indians who pay them tribute; this obligation was actually fulfilled vicariously through the aposto bajo or patio schools.³

A definitive statement cannot be made concerning the merits or demerits of the encomienda system. It has already been pointed out, that several of the leading Franciscan educators in early Mexico opposed the unfortunate results of the plan as it was actually operating. Thus, Bishop Zumárraga,⁴ in a letter to Charles V, severely castigated certain evils resulting from the "enslavement" of the Indians in the mines, on the plantations, and in the pearl fisheries. In demanding the removal of Guzman and the other members of the first Audiencia, he charged that the merchants alone profited, that the natives were maltreated, scandalized, and led into gambling and other vices by being enclosed and reduced to slavery; he did not hesitate to declare, that the president and judges (oidores) carried off by force two beautiful Indian girls from the convent school in Tezcuco and were committing similar crimes elsewhere. In general, however, one must distinguish between the abolitionist attitude of the Dominicans, led by Las Casas who seems to have exaggerated the

relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las posesiones espanoles. Sacades en su mayor parte del Real Archivo de Indias, XXXI, 156-174. Madrid, 1879.

¹Ibid., p. 160.

²"Real cedula al provincial de Santiago encargando el señalamiento de cuarenta frailes de la orden de San Francisco, doctos é habiles para doctrinar á los indios de Tierra-firme, e islas de Cuba, Jamaica, y San Juan. Burgos: a 27 de junio de DXII años 1512," ibid.

³"Los capitulos que tratan de la obligacion que los encomenderos tienen é enseñar y doctrinar los indios que les tributan, 1536," ibid., second series X, pp. 361-364. Madrid, 1897.

⁴Simpson, op. cit., pp. 229 et seq.

plight of the Indians, and the more tolerant position of the Franciscans led by Zumárraga who considered the encomienda, if properly administered, as a practical means of civilizing the Indians and establishing the Christian European social order among them, through education financed by the encomenderos.¹ The Franciscans of Guatemala also raised their voices in the councils and legislative halls of government, protesting against enslavement of the natives and enunciating the doctrine of individual integrity and the theory of human liberty for all.² Similar reactions are found in the sources regarding the repartimientos, which were, for the most part, temporary encomiendas. A joint statement issued in the city of San Domingo, on May 27, 1517, by nine Dominicans and eleven Franciscans, including provincial superiors, insists that the Indians and Negroes be accorded the same freedom enjoyed by the Spaniards. They threaten Cardinal Ximenes and his Jeronymite representatives in Española, that, unless proper remedies are applied to eradicate this so-called "Christian slavery" in a land where "Christian liberty" should be shown, they will leave the mission field of the West Indies for other lands.³

That the Franciscans viewed the encomienda with its educational program as a social experiment that needed certain modifications, is illustrated in certain developments of an early controversy in Hispaniola.⁴ The reports of Bishop Las Casas, O.P., had worried the Franciscan Cardinal Ximenes, regent in Spain. He sent three disinterested members of the Order of St. Jerome (Jeronymites) to Hispaniola in 1516 to determine the possibility of a free Indian social order. After examining what the friars had actually accomplished under the system, they realized that it was an experimental approach and not merely a "curious example

¹Ibid., p. 105.

²Silvio Zavala, New Viewpoints on the Spanish Colonization of America, p. 56. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943.

³"Parere de' Domenicani e de' Francescani della Spagnola sopra a' nativi, diretto a' Commissarii Gerolimiti," May 27, 1517, city of San Domingo. Archivo de Indias di Siviglia, as quoted in Marcellino Da Civezza, O.F.M., Storia universale delle missioni francescane, VI, 503-504. Prato: Tipografia di R. Guasti, 1881.

⁴Zavala, op. cit., p. 105.

of the workings of a mind trained to operate a priori."¹ Hence, they gave their approval to the encomienda system,² but suggested modifications in its operations, which were more consonant with evangelical mildness. The Franciscans themselves knew first-hand that the chieftains, and especially the parents, opposed any plan of enslavement, even though presented under the guise of providing better educational advantages. Thus, while Emperor Charles V had agreed to allow the sons of the chieftains to come to Spain for education, the parents, fearing that slavery of their children might be intended, resisted the invitation; actually, according to Torquemada,³ Indian children were never sent to Spain for educational purposes.

Had the individual Franciscan friary been autonomous, it would probably have yielded to the abuses heaped upon the natives by the merchandising classes. But the general chapter of the cismontane family of friars, celebrated in Toledo in 1583 under the presidency of Fray Francisco Gonzaga, O.F.M., again issued special statutes for the friars in the Indies. These statutes⁴ which, if we are to judge from canonical custom, were in actual operation for quite some time before they were finally approved, provided for a unified administration through the commissary general of the Indies at the royal court. This high ranking Franciscan official was subject only to the minister general of the whole Order in Rome, and possessed complete jurisdiction over all the friars and nuns, individually and collectively, residing in the Indies.⁵ Naturally, however, since the royal treasury supported the friars in the field, the crown and the real consejo had something to say about the powers and movements of the commissary general.⁶ No friars could be sent to the Indies unless the royal court requested and fixed the number of those to be given letters of obedience. The particular commissaries were likewise chosen

¹Simpson, op. cit., p. 63.

²Zavala, op. cit., p. 105.

³Juan de Torquemada, O.F.M., Monarchia indiana, III, 262.

⁴"Siguen los estatutos generales de los frailes de las Indias," fols. 102 (v.) - 109 (v.), Estatutos generales de Barcelona, para la familia cismontana, de la Orden de n.s.p. S. Francisco, Toledo, 1583. En Mexico: En casa de Pedro Ocharte, 1585. Fols. 125.

⁵Ibid., fols. 102 (v.) - 103 (r.).

⁶Ibid., fol. 104 (r.).

at the pleasure of the secular power. The new statutes somewhat restricted the earlier liberties of the missionaries, especially in regard to transferring from one territory or province to another. This provided greater stability, though it probably interfered with the mutual exchange of progressive educational ideas and practices, as was the case in Ghent's time, when friars who had worked under him as student-teachers were often found in other provinces, carrying on similar educational projects. The actual choice of individual friars to be sent to the Indies remained in the hands of the general commissary, since he was warned by the statutes not to send any unworthy, recalcitrant, or moody religious; no native of the Indies could join the Order unless he was twenty-two years old. The commissary was permitted to select his missionaries from any province which he cared to visit, and no local or provincial superior could in any manner interfere in his choice of personnel.¹ Judging on the basis of priority of selection without interference, one must reasonably conclude that the general commissary had every opportunity to select high type men who represented the best that the Order had to offer any community or nation.

The commissary general, who resided at the royal court in Spain, was represented in the Indies by two friars who might be termed assistant commissary generals, one for the provinces of New Spain, and the other for the provinces of Peru.² These religious officials were required to ascertain the needs of the friars within their jurisdiction and to see to it, that they observed the tenor of the Franciscan rule and the Barcelona constitutions. These were also to be observed regarding monies granted through the royal patronage, since the friars in the pueblos and doctrinas were obliged to live on the free-will offerings of their clientele.³ Syndics were to be appointed also in the Indies for the administration of those things which involved the handling of monies ordinarily prohibited by the Franciscan rule of life.⁴

The techniques of supervisory control in the Indies were

¹Ibid., fols. 105 (r.) - 108 (r.).

²Ibid., fols. 105 (r.) - 108 (r.).

³Ibid., fols. 107 (v.) - 108 (r.).

⁴Ibid., fol. 108 (r.).

the usual visitations and reports.¹ The ministers provincial were obliged to send the minister general and the commissary general residing at the royal court complete statements on the placement of their personnel and concerning their activities and particular regulations. The commissary general in New Spain had to make an annual report on the finances and progress of the provinces in his charge. In the visitations special solicitude was to be exercised in correcting friars who quarreled with seculars and in disciplining those who undertook secular occupations or accepted alms for their own use without the permission of their superiors.

Thus the friars were a unit in their own administrative organization in the Indies; as such they were not subservient to the state or to the encomenderos, though they were financially dependent on them. They themselves led and directed colonizations² among the mountainous tribes, especially in the north, before encomienda rights were granted, and, on numerous occasions, had the authoritative backing of the state in making decisions of widespread significance to the system of reductions. It must be remembered that the Spanish policy on the best way to civilize the Indian was often in a very fluid state, so that any prestige group of colonists or friars could experiment with the project, even at government expense, just as adventurers and explorers, who were particularly recommended, found royal favor. But, if the experiment caused unrest, it was promptly investigated; quite frequently religious officials were entrusted by the government with such difficult assignments. Thus the Franciscan provincial of Española, Fray Pedro Mexia, O.F.M., was ordered by the government in 1526 to investigate the enslavement of Indians in Cuba.³ He put at liberty all the natives whom he found without encomenderos, and suggested that some Indians be sent to Spain for their education, so that, on their return, they would be better able to

¹Ibid., fols. 108 (v.) - 109 (r.).

²Lillian Estelle Fisher, Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies, p. 56. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1926.

³Lewis Hanke, The First Social Experiments in America, pp. 56 et seq. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935.

communicate to their fellows the Christian Spanish way of life. For the rest, the encomienda system was to be continued as an experiment. Despite the vigorous opposition of the then governor of Cuba, Gonzalo de Guzman, to Mexia's report, the State was obliged to acquiesce to the Franciscan friar's decision.¹

While Franciscan mass education was more or less locally financed through free-will offerings made to the friars for their sustenance, or through the support of the encomendero who received tribute from the Indians, larger educational projects of wider significance relied upon the pecuniary beneficence of the king, queen, or the royal treasury. This has already been shown relative to the support of St. John Lateran School, Holy Cross College, and the various schools for girls. Government support of Franciscan educational projects was, at times, seconded by private philanthropies, such as the Mendoza endowment of Tlalatelolco, the Cortés' will concerning the college of Coyoacán, and the Nuñez testamentary provisions for an institution of higher education at Celaya.

The various collections of royal orders,² documents, and transcripts from the national archives of Mexico,³ and the archives of the Indies in Seville,⁴ together with the many printed documents⁵ of hitherto unpublished materials dealing with Mexico, the West Indies, and other sections of Spanish North America, present very detailed accounts of royal and viceregal governmental ex-

¹"Provisiones reales," Documentos inéditos ultramarinos, I, 348-351, 360-361.

²Vasco de Puga, Provisiones, cédulas, instrumentos de su magestad ... ordenanzas ... y audiencia ... de esta Nueva España ... desde el año de 1525--hasta este presente del 1563. Fols. 42, 96 (v.), 143 (v.)-144 (r.), 145-147, 148 (v.)-149 (r.), 180 (v.)-181 (r.), 186 (v.), 204 (v.)-205 (r.).

³Archivo General de la Nación, Estados Unidos Mexicanos, General de Parte, Tomo I, 1576; Tomo II, 1579 (fol. 45), 1581; Tomo III, 1588; Tomo IV, 1590; Tomo V, 1599 (fol. 105 v., fol. 115); Tomo VI, 1601 (fol. 96). Mexico City.

⁴"Fuenleal to the King, August 8, 1533," Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mex. 68. Transcribed by France V. Scholes, Carnegie Institute of Washington.

⁵Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar, Tomo XXI, Lib. III, Tit. I, num. 177-207 (1553-1562). Madrid, 1928.

penditures for the erection of Franciscan buildings, the maintenance of houses and schools already built, the hiring of assistant secular teachers, the sustenance of poor students, both boys and girls, the support of higher Indian education especially at Tlaltelolco, and the support of women engaged in the instruction of children in their homes. These revenues took numerous and varied forms; some were direct grants of money, such as annual allotments of pesos de minas, ducados or pesos de oro comun, others were secured from the sale of unclaimed cattle, large and small, still other revenues for the support of Franciscan education came from taxes levied against pueblos and towns, while still further funds came from court fines, or were paid in kind. Such especially were the allotments of bushels of maize, fruits, and vegetables; very often the larger unclaimed cattle, like cows and horses, were sold and the proceeds given to educational institutions, while, the smaller cattle, such as sheep and goats, were directly distributed to the boarding schools.

In concluding this discussion on the financial support of education a certain measure of tribute must be given to the policy of royal patronage (patronato real). Their Catholic majesties of Spain had secured definite concessions from the Holy See relative to approval or disapproval of ecclesiastical appointees. Pope Alexander VI (1493) and Julius II (1508) published bulls to the effect that, in return for these political favors, royal patronage in the Indies would support the religious, social, and educational works of the missionaries.¹ Certainly, the Franciscans would have been greatly handicapped had this assistance not been forthcoming: yet often they had to importune the royal treasury to keep its promise, and, in many instances, good educational progress was made amid Franciscan poverty and indigence, especially in the primary schools of the pueblos, where the mendicants had to be literally true to their name. State aid to church-controlled schools is not an unmixed evil nor yet always a blessing in disguise.

In judging Franciscan educational administration the changing fortunes of the larger governmental and mission systems of Indian control between 1500 and 1800 must be kept in mind. The

¹Fr. Pedro Joseph Parras, O.F.M., Gobierno de los regulares de la America, I, 2-16. Madrid: J. Ibarra, 1783.

friars had to make continuous adjustments to changing conditions of state and church relationships. Between 1500 and 1650 the encomienda system was prevalent with its church, school, friary, and hospital financed mainly by the encomendero.¹ From 1650-1780 the mission-garrison system prevailed. The Indians lived a community life under the direction of the mission but under the protection of a garrison of soldiers. From 1780-1800 the ill-fated pueblo, town, or parish system of organization was inaugurated. The Indians lived together with the whites in the towns, but were under the cura or supervision of political and religious leaders. With Mexican independence and the expulsion of religious orders systems of Indian organization were no longer to be found on a church-state basis.

¹Interview with Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M. of Washington, D.C., November 4, 1944.

CHAPTER XIV

PREPARATION OF FRANCISCAN PERSONNEL

After the period of beginnings, during which the Franciscans recruited their personnel from Spain and other European countries, had expired, the friars, to perpetuate the Christian Spanish social order in New Spain, instituted houses of study and mission colleges in the environment where the aspirants would continue the work of the pioneers.

In the Ciudad Puebla de los Angeles, southeast of Mexico City, the Observant Franciscans had a novitiate and a house of studies. The Discalced Friars, a reform unit within the Order, constructed a separate novitiate and house of philosophy in the same city.¹

The earliest continuous Franciscan province in North America, that of the Holy Gospel, conducted houses of study for the education of its candidates during the first decade of its autonomous existence. According to Torquemada, many of the aspirants learned to read, write, chant, and acquired the rudiments of Christian doctrine, along with other students, from Fray Arnaldo Brasacio and Fray Pedro de Gante in the latter's school of San José.² Thereupon they took the Latin course at Santa Cruz College in Tlaltelolco, side by side with the native Indians, and, therefore, had very close contact with the customs and psychology of the newly conquered people. This is particularly worthy of consideration, since a number of the very proficient Indian graduates of Tlaltelolco functioned as instructors for the young Spanish and creole religious when some of the teaching friars were engaged in spiritual ministrations.³ This close contact between the races probably accounts for much of the mutual

¹Vetancurt, Teatro Mexicano, II, 384.

²Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana, Lib. XV, cap. xxiii.

³García Icazbalceta, "La instruccion publica en Mexico durante el siglo XVI," Obras, I, 181. Mexico, 1896.

devotion and interest in each other manifested by both friars and natives.

Before analyzing more completely the educational program for the training of friars in New Spain, it is, perhaps, desirable to look first at educational legislation promulgated by the higher superiors of the whole Order.

The general constitutions of the Franciscan Order enacted in the chapter held at Barcelona, province of Aragon, in 1451, decreed that "thereafter in the future, some studies be had in each province, in places designated by the provincial chapter, in which the friars are separately to pursue such studies as the primitive sciences and sacred theology."¹ The provincial and the local guardians were responsible for the efficacy of the instruction which, apparently, was not concluded until the candidate for the priesthood attained the age of twenty-five.² The clerics, both priests and candidates for the priesthood, must have been permitted to possess their own books, since one of the penalties decreed for infractions of religious discipline was that the culprit "should be deprived of his books";³ the lay-brothers, however, were not at this time permitted to have their own books.⁴

These Barcelona constitutions, as revised in the general chapter held in the city of Toledo, province of Castile, in 1583, provide for the maintenance of libraries in each house and forbid, under pain of excommunication, the alienation of books in any manner whatsoever.⁵ A special section is devoted to the "education of the novices" in Christian doctrine and the precepts of the Franciscan rule, with the provision, however, that during the time of the novitiate, secular studies were not to be permitted.⁶ The section "Del estudio" is so vital in this treatise on Francis-

¹"Comiêça las constitutiones generales: ordenadas en el capitulo general: celebrado en el convêto de sancta Maria de Jesu en barcelona de la provincia de Aragon: Año de M.y.cccc.l.y uno" (1451), fol. xliiii, Instituta ordinis beati Francisci. En Mexico: En casa de Antonio de Espinosa, 1567.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., fol. xlviil.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"De los libros," fols. 26 (v.) and 27 (r.). Estatutos generales.

⁶"De la educacion de los novicios," fols. 7 (v.) and 8 (r.). Estatutos generales.

can education that the reader should have a fairly complete translation at his disposal.

Concerning Studies

It is likewise ordained that those who desire to advance in the holy exercise of letters are to be favored, and that in each province and custody in those convents designated by the provincial chapter for houses of study the friars are to be instructed in the preparatory sciences and sacred theology, and the ministers provincial must take care that the guardians and other presidents comply with the contents of this constitution. For which reason it is ordained that any province which does not have at least three houses devoted to the studies of grammar, the arts, and theology, shall be reduced in rank from the status of a province to that of a custody and shall be placed under the jurisdiction of a province which produces learned confessors, priests, and preachers. And since the holy council of Trent commanded that in those convents of religious (which can conveniently sustain the program of studies) there should be a course in Sacred Scripture, be it ordained that in all convents of our holy religion where they cannot have the study of scholastic theology, moral theology instruction be introduced, which is the same as lectures on cases of conscience, at which all priests of the convent must be present at the time assigned by the guardian.

We exhort all the prelates of our religion that those who desire to be promoted to the study of letters be above all things, devoted, of good habits and ability, and not too far advanced in age. And if in the classes there are some who are merely auditors and who have not completed their course they may not be commissioned as preachers or confessors of seculars. In as far as the professors of theology are concerned, it is ordained (conformable to the council of Trent) that they are to be named among the more worthy in the general and provincial chapters.

And since, in the scholastic conferences which are had between the opinions of the glorious St. Thomas and the subtle doctor Scotus there is always found great benefit for the church, exercise of ingenuity, sustained interest in the school, and the truth is more clearly brought to light, we command that all the professors of theology teach only the doctrine of Scotus without teaching the principal intent of the other authors, and that they do not seek to teach from notebooks nor by dictation and that they neither grow verbose and prolix in the presentation of their materials, but seek to complete their work within the time assigned for the course and that they call the attention of the students at least in general to everything treated by the Master of the Sentences and Scotus, so that the students, having finished their course, can in time develop into consummate theologians, as is evident from the experience of the ancients, namely, that those who followed this form of teaching and study became the most learned. The professors of the arts should complete their courses precisely in three years, and they shall teach those authors who are more inclined to the doctrine of Scotus. The lecturers of scholastic theology shall finish their course in four years during which time they shall teach only the four books of Scotus without inserting the doctrine of others, so

that the course might be completed in due time. There shall be two classes in theology, daily, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Relative to further aspects of these regulations, the customs of the various provinces shall be observed.¹

These same constitutions, with their advantages and limitations, were mandatory in all cismontane provinces of both Europe and America. In New Spain, as further analysis shows, curricular adjustments were made to suit the differentials in territory, personnel, and objectives.

In the convents at Xochimilco and Tulantzinco of New Spain students for the Franciscan priesthood pursued the studies of the arts and theology, to which, later on, the grammatical and linguistic studies were added. This was particularly true toward the end of the seventeenth century, when the number of students increased and the houses of study multiplied. There were then five houses of theology: Mexico City, Puebla de los Angeles, Colegio de S. Buenaventura (Santiago, Tlaltelolco), Tlaxcala, and Xochimilco. The trivium and quadrivium of the liberal arts and three native languages, aztec, otomi, and matalzinca, were taught at Tlaltelolco, Texcuco, Toluca, Tlaxcala, Cholula, Puebla, and Xochimilco.² Students came to these Franciscan seminaries, not only from the Mexico City province, but also from those of Zacatecas, Guadalajara, and at times even from Havana; many distinguished themselves and their provinces by their scholastic proficiency. Among the teachers who gained renown in these institutions Vetancurt mentions specifically Friars Arnaldo Brasacio, Miguel Gonzalez, Pedro de Leyva, and Hernando Duran.³

Though the evidence is rather spotty, it seems that these seminaries or houses of study were supported or at least assisted by local governmental funds. Thus in 1725 the Father Guardian of the Colegio de San Buenaventura was granted 2,223 pesos by the municipal government of Mexico City, for the purpose of improving the water supply.⁴ This was the Tlaltelolco college which at this

¹"Del estudio," fols. 34 (r.) - 35 (v.). Estatutos generales.

²Vetancurt, Teatro Mexicano, III, 95-97; II, 384. ³Ibid.

⁴"Autos fechos sobre la merced de una naranja de agua para el barrio de Santiago Tlaltelolco y su colegio de religiosos de San Francisco" (67 hojas), Archivo Municipal de Mexico, Tomo I, Aguas Comunitades, 1562 a 1864, leg. 1, No. 13, año 1725.

time was a Franciscan major seminary for Spaniards and creoles.¹ On the other hand, the writer found a few incomplete records in the municipal archives of Mexico City which indicate that the local authorities also exercised somewhat of a supervisory interest in the instruction, libraries, and other phases of the advanced education of Franciscan personnel.² The amount of governmental control exercised in relation to the financial support given could not be computed because of the incompleteness of the records.

In 1578 the Franciscan Provincial Miguel Navarro made an appeal to the fourth viceroy, D. Martin Enriquez de Almansa (1568-1580), in which he sought financial assistance, because learning was suffering both within and without the Order.³ He writes that there exist houses of study in almost every monastery, and because of the shortage of funds to sustain these students, it is frequently necessary to transfer the young professed clerics from one house of studies to another. This causes great hardship to all concerned, including the Indians whom they also instruct. He insists that, if the Order is to be more selective in recruiting and training its personnel for carrying on the work of teaching, then its program of studies must be better supported by the state. Furthermore, Navarro emphasizes the fact that the Franciscans actually have the more difficult places and the more densely populated areas of Tlaxcala province, where no secular clerics are available, and even if they were present there, it would be very unwise to have them supplant the friars.

That the royal treasury was supporting "studies . . . and

¹"Colegio de Santiago de Tlaltelolco de Mexico--Provincia de S. Evangelio," Siglo XVI-XVIII, MSS, Sections III, IV, fol. 152, Departamento de Manuscritos, Estampas, y Iconografia, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City.

²"Libro incompleto que contiene las cuentas de esta convento," sin foliacion, Archivo Municipal de Mexico, Tomo I, Exp. 1655, Conventos, San Francisco, Cantabilidad, legajo 1, año 1655-1673.

³"Relacion de Fray Miguel Navarro, Provincial de la Orden de S. Francisco en esta Nueva Espana para el muy excelente Señor D. Martin Enriquez, Virrey y Gobernador y Capitain General de ella por S.M., sobre los Monasterios que la dicha Orden dejó el año pasado de mill y quinientos y sesenta y siete, y la necesidad que para ello hubo," Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, I, 53-63.

other necessary things" in the convents of the Franciscan Order is clearly shown by legislation passed in Madrid on December 16, 1593.¹ It seems that some of the friars must have had conscientious scruples about receiving fixed periodic income for their support, which, according to the strict tenor of the Franciscan rule, is prohibited, since the friars, as a mendicant Order, are to subsist only on alms. Hence, legislation was passed stating, that the orders for payment from the royal treasury for the support of studies and other necessary things in the Franciscan convents, are to be considered merely as government alms and not as fixed income.

In the province of Michoacán, dedicated to the honor of Sts. Peter and Paul, three friaries were designated for the instruction of the novices and the teaching of grammar, the arts, and theology to the Franciscan clerics.²

In 1579 the Franciscan General, Francisco Gonzaga, emphasized the importance of further higher education within the Order; the provincial chapter celebrated shortly after in Guatemala, under the presidency of Fray Juan Casero, showed itself very favorable to this general directive, especially when the members realized that their thirteen-year-old province--Guatemala became an independent Franciscan province in 1566--could no longer hope for a supply of learned men either from Spain or the mother province.³ The various courses in the liberal arts and in theology were offered in the convents at Almalomga, Comalapa, Tecpan, and Guatemala City, where the library became the setting for erudite discussions on the Sentences of Peter Lombard.⁴

The Guatemala province had been exceptionally well administered by the learned founder Fray Gonzalo Mendez, O.F.M., who, in the forty-two years (1540-1582) he spent there, sought as his co-workers missionaries known especially for their learning.

¹"Que en las presentaciones de religiosos Franciscos se ponga, que el stipendio es limosna, como se declara (D. Felipe II en Madrid à 6 y a 16 de diziembre de 1593)," Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, Tomo I, Lib. I, Tit. XV, Ley XXV, fols. 79-80. Madrid: Por Julian de Paredes, 1681.

²Fray Didacus Munoz, O.F.M., "Descripcion de la provincia de los apostoles San Pedro y San Pablo en las Indias de la Nueva España" (Mechoacán and Jalisco), 1585, loc. cit., p. 388.

³Vazquez, op. cit., I, 257-258.

⁴Ibid.

He himself had been a profound classical scholar and teacher; his name was recognized in both philosophy and theology at Alcalá. When he came to the New World, Mendez studied the local ethnology and civilization before attempting to Christianize the natives; he expected his fellow-workers to be men of similar calibre and judgment lest in their superficiality and ignorance they confuse good customs with the evils of idolatry.¹ This accounts for the learned men who made up his staff and, likewise, for the comparatively large amount of writing they did for the enlightenment of both the natives and the Spanish students in their seminaries.

Fray Juan Casero who succeeded Mendez as provincial was a man of similar ideals and scholarly habits. He himself supervised a number of Franciscan houses of study where the creoles prepared for the priesthood and was the first lector of liberal arts and sacred theology in the convent of San Francisco in Guatemala City.²

The educational influence of Mendez was not provincial, but extended itself into the neighboring territories of Honduras, Cuscatlan, and Chiapa where he worked for the permanent establishment of scholastic studies among his Franciscan brethren, building classrooms and constructing curriculums so prudently and soundly, that these areas still retained their reputation for Franciscan learning and scholarship when Vazquez wrote his history one hundred and fifty years later (1714).³ This Franciscan contribution to higher learning was recognized by non-Franciscans, as Remesal informs us, since, for a time, Friars Minor taught the arts and theology in the College of St. Thomas, giving their time and services gratuitously to a cause which they considered of primary importance to the stability of the new social order.⁴ Among these professors Padre Juan de Castilnovo and Fray Jorge de Lezana are worthy of special mention for their leadership not only in Latin, the arts, and theology, but also in the natural sciences. That the Franciscan policy in Guatemala was opportunistic and not exclusively designed for the Indians, is shown by the fact that the lay-brother Miguel de Estetles, porter of the friary of San Francisco in Guatemala City, taught the rudiments of culture also to

¹Ibid., II, 27-28. ²Ibid., p. 316. ³Ibid., p. 323.

⁴Antonio de Remesal, O.P., Historia general de las Indias occidentales, Lib. IX, cap. xvi. Madrid, 1620.

many of the Spaniards who came to the convent for temporal and spiritual assistance.¹

Co-ordinate with the houses of study conducted in the various Franciscan provinces of Spanish North America seven so-called mission colleges, under general jurisdiction, were erected between 1683 and 1816 to educate future Franciscan missionaries in the ever expanding field opened by Spanish conquest and exploration. The development of the mission colleges of Spanish America can be traced in definite Franciscan planning between 1683, the opening of the College of Querétaro in Mexico, and 1857, the year in which the last college was founded in Bolivia. There were twenty-five known mission colleges founded within that time: in Mexico, 6; Guatemala, 1; Colombia, 2; Venezuela, 1; Argentina, 3; Peru, 2; Panama, 1; Bolivia, 7; and Chile, 2.

This discussion will be concerned with only seven of the twenty-five, since the remainder are outside North America. These seven are as follows:

1. Colegio de Santa Cruz de Querétaro,² founded in the city of Querétaro, Mexico, in 1682.
2. Colegio de Christo Crucificado de Guatemala,³ founded in 1692.
3. Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas,⁴ founded in 1704, in the city of Zacatecas, Mexico.
4. Colegio de San Fernando de la Ciudad Mexico,⁵ founded in 1734, in Mexico City.
5. Colegio de San Francisco de Pachuca, founded in 1771, in Pachuca, Mexico.
6. Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Orizaba, founded in 1790, in the city of Orizaba, Mexico.
7. Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Zapopán, founded in 1816, in Zapopán, Guadalajara, Mexico.⁶

¹Vazquez, *op. cit.*, II, 322, 335, 343-345.

²Isidro Felix de Espinosa, O.F.M., Chronica apostolica y seraphica de todos los colegios de propaganda fide de esta Nueva España de misioneros franciscanos observantes. Primera Parte, Lib. I, caps. xi et seq. Mexico, 1746.

³*Ibid.*, Lib. V, cap. xxviii.

⁴*Ibid.*, cap. xxx.

⁵*Ibid.*, cap. xxxii.

⁶This college was founded by Fr. Francisco Barrón and seems to have for a time (1860-1867) taken refuge in the college of Santa Barbara, California. It tried to re-open in 1865, but failed due to the decrees of secularization, expulsion of Spaniards, and the closing of missions in California and Sonora. It was successful in opening missions in Nayarit and Costa Rica. See:

The colleges at Guatemala, Zacatecas, and Mexico City were offshoots of Querétaro, while Zapopán was founded from Zacatecas and Orizaba from Mexico City; Pachuca, founded by the Discalced Reform Friars, was independent.

The missionary college policy, though very highly developed in the Americas by the Friars Minor, cannot strictly be considered either Franciscan or American in origin. Steck correctly traces the idea back to the Papal Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, instituted by Pope Gregory XV in 1622.¹ This congregation, frequently referred to simply as the Propaganda, had the absolute power of jurisdiction over the missionaries without even consulting with the superiors of the Order. It received direct reports on missionaries in the field, especially concerning their ability, customs, and methods. Now, Parras claims that the Propaganda sent many of these reports to the Franciscan general who could observe from them that many friars in New Spain were ill-prepared or, perhaps, lacked specific abilities for their work.² The general, Fr. Juan de Nápoles, thereupon took the stand that the selection and examination of candidates for the American missions should be taken out of the Order's hands and placed in charge of the Propaganda, especially since the missions of New Spain presented such a variety of objectives. Nápoles readily admitted that the missionaries to be sent to America needed more than knowledge; they particularly needed training in the proper methods of communicating that knowledge to Indians who spoke a foreign tongue and had all their experiences colored by an entirely diverse ideology. But, to provide distinct seminaries for the training of such missionaries required the consent of the crown and the council of the Indies. The problem remained unsolved for quite some time. But, in 1633, the Franciscan General chapter, celebrated at Toledo, ordered the inauguration of insti-

Luis de Palacio y Basave, O.F.M., Historia breve y compendiosa del colegio apostolico de propaganda fide de nuestra señora de Zapopán, pp. 29, 65, 38. Guadalajara, Mexico: C. M. Sainz, 1925. (Yale Divinity School Library.)

¹Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., Ensayos, historicos hispano-americanos, p. 59. Mexico, 1940. See also Fr. Pedro Joseph Parras, Gobierno de las regulares de la America, II, 77. Madrid, 1783.

²Parras, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

tutions in Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, and Belgium where friars might be spiritually prepared for the home and foreign missions. The curriculum in these institutions was to be heavily weighted with languages necessary in the respective mission countries, and Christian apologetics. The general decree seems to have had little force or sanction, as far as can be ascertained from present sources, until about 1682 when Fray Antonio Linaz, O.F.M., a member of the Michoacán province presented a workable plan to the Holy See through the Minister General. On May 8, 1682, Innocent XI established the first mission college of Querétaro by his apostolic brief, Sacrosancti Apostolatus officium.¹ He mentions a two-fold objective of the college: the instruction of tyro missionaries and the physical and mental renewal of the veterans. This papal brief outlines the basic constitution of the colleges.

Father Linaz, who deserves most of the credit for the practical execution of the mission college idea, was born in Mallorca and educated by the Franciscans at the Villa de Arta in the elementary branches and "in grammar and rhetoric which they taught to all the children of that country."² The Franciscan historian Espinosa emphasizes this fact in young Linaz' training to show, that the Friars Minor agreed with the ancient philosophers who considered "a city without teachers to be as an unpopulated pueblo and a republic without letters to be an aggregation of vices" "It is borne out by experience," asserts Espinosa, "that a place without masters is as a wild uncultivated forest where nothing is seen but brambles and briars among a great variety of tree-trunks."³ The excellent education and character formation received by Linaz may well have influenced his system of values in the appreciation of similar attainments by his colleagues and may have developed his philosophy of education as a medium of social change for the natives.

Coming to Mexico, Fray Linaz was incardinated in the Michoacán province and soon found himself in an administrative position. He went to Europe in 1679,⁴ stopped at the court of

¹Ibid., p. 82. ²Espinosa, op. cit., p. 98.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 38.

Madrid to seek further help from the crown for the Sierra Gorda region, where many of his friars found work among the Indians very difficult. It was at this juncture, some time before the General Chapter convened at Toledo in 1682, that Linaz presented a resolution to the king asking his majesty to grant a royal charter for the founding of a college to train missionaries particularly for the peculiar exigencies of the Sierra Gorda territory. The minister general of the Order, Fray Joseph Ximenez Samaniego, approved the plan and commended Linaz for his initiative in working for the establishment of a college where friars of kindred spirit might gather for spiritual renewal, language studies, and other matters necessary for the conversion of the peoples of New Spain. At the same time the general gave permission to twenty-four friars to enter the college;¹ among these was the Texas pioneer, Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus, O.F.M. Through a royal cedula, dated April 18, 1682, Don Carlos Segundo authorized the opening of the institution at Querétaro; it was approved by Fray Christobal del Visco, commissary general of the Indies, and by Pope Innocent XI, in May of the same year. On July 15, 1682, Linaz had secured companions for his venture and was named prefect of missions in the West Indies by a special decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.²

The plan, which Linaz had for instituting this system of Franciscan mission colleges in the Americas, is clearly discernible from some of his correspondence with the Minister General of the Order; it seems to have been chiefly concerned with the ideological and cultural conversion of the Indies.³ One of the main purposes of these missionary colleges from which graduates were later sent into California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and other distant parts, was to prepare the future personnel to lay the groundwork of Indian conversion, preparing the natives so well that they would be at home in the new Christian Spanish social order and could then be turned over from Franciscan to episcopal jurisdiction.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 40.

²Ibid., p. 44.

³"Carta del ministro provincial al Fray Antonio Linaz, fecha 12 de marzo de 1682," ibid., pp. 83 et seq.

⁴Parras, op. cit., II, 85 et seq.



Fig. 44.--Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus, O.F.M. (died August 6, 1726), founder of the mission colleges at Querétaro, Guatemala, and Zacatecas. (After an old portrait.)

From the administrative standpoint, the colleges were directly under the administration of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome and the American mission commissary.¹ Originally, Querétaro, the mother of the mission colleges in New Spain, was to have no more than thirty members, twenty-six priests and four lay-brothers.² This restriction was later amended, especially when permission to receive novices was given the college. Each college was administered by a guardian who was appointed by the Minister General from three, chosen by the vote of all the priests. This presiding official had a vicar, who, frequently, was master of novices, and a council of four friars. The individual college was privileged to have its own statutes and set of rules to suit its specific objectives, but these local ordinances had to be approved by competent authority.³ Inspection by the secular power was common;⁴ permission to revisit Spain was rarely granted the collegians, except after ten-year intervals.⁵

Religious discipline was quite strict; the missionaries were to be motivated spiritually in the difficult and dangerous life ahead of them. In fact, many friars frequently returned to their college for a period of spiritual retreat, for encouragement, for assistance in planning, and physical convalescence. Hence, the community exercises of mental prayer, conventual mass, divine office, and the common life in recreation, meals, and regular hours for discussions, lectures, silent study, and retirement were designed to build the morale as well as the mind and body of inexperienced and seasoned missionaries.

Linaz wanted his college at Querétaro to be close to the Indians, yet in a place of quiet and retirement. He insisted on discipline and a strict daily regimen for the collegians most of whom at the start of the project had already been ordained priests. All had to observe the community life, attend midnight choir, rise at five-thirty in spring and summer, and at six during the autumn and winter, and perform all the religious exercises common in the strictest European friaries.⁶ The priests

¹Steck, op. cit., p. 62. ²Parras, op. cit., pp. 85-93.

³Steck, op. cit., p. 62. ⁴Parras, op. cit., p. 227.

⁵Ibid., p. 163. ⁶Espinosa, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

participated to a limited extent in preaching, in the administration of the sacraments, and in the visitation of the sick, but gave most of their time to conferences and study. Attendance at the morning lectures on Indian languages and the afternoon conference on the art of converting, catechizing, and instructing converts was compulsory.¹ At times these classes or seminars would alternate with discussions on mystical or moral theology, especially with reference to the moral and social conditions prevailing among the natives of the area.² All members of the college had to spend at least two-and-one-half hours daily in silent study.³ The evenings were devoted mainly to the recitation of the divine office and other spiritual exercises.

The curriculum seems to have been informally organized for those who already were priests, though formal instruction was given in the native languages which had to be mastered. Case discussions were held, especially in moral theology and in the administration of the missions. While some of the graduates of these colleges have contributed to scholarship in the various natural sciences, it does not appear from the record that ethnology or anthropology, on which, in an earlier day, Fray Sahagun, O.F.M., laid so much stress, were included in the program of studies. Both Sahagun and Mendez would have considered this a definite need for future missionaries among the aborigines, and would have made it a required course in their mission college curriculum. On the whole, the preparation given at Querétaro, for example, was both spiritual and educational; some attempts were made to bring ethnology into focus, but they seem to have been stopped short in the linguistic and social-moral fields.

As time went on, Charles II paid for an additional fifty-four friars at the college of Querétaro, so that it became necessary to enlarge the physical plant. Three additional dormitories with cells on both sides, an infirmary with sixteen rooms, and a chapel, a wardrobe, a tailor shop, a small pharmacy, and a large church were included in the building program.⁴ The friars were on very amicable terms with the secular clergy in the region,

¹Parras, op. cit., p. 88.

²Espinosa, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 56.

were beloved by the people, and soon were numerous enough to branch out and organize missions among the uncivilized natives of Saltillo, Nuevo Reyno de Leon, Sierra Gorda, Cohaguila, Tampico, Tamaulipas, and the Texas regions bordering the Rio Grande.¹

From Querétaro, Friars Melchor López and Antonio Margil de Jesus, who were itinerant missionaries in Yucatan and Central America for fourteen years (1683-1697), received the inspiration to found a similar mission college in Guatemala. Their objective was seconded by the commissary general, Fray Juan Capistrano, on March 9, 1692, but royal approval did not arrive from Madrid until July 16, 1700.² While the buildings were under construction the missionaries lived in various barrios and taught the rudiments of the new social order, to the children of the natives.³ Finally, on May 23, 1707, the mission college of Christ Crucified was dedicated in the city of Guatemala. Graduates of this institution extended their influence southward into Nicaragua and other countries of Central America.

Another offshoot of Querétaro was the college of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Zacatecas. Fathers Margil and Pedro de la Concepcion, procurator for both Querétaro and Guatemala, were instrumental in its founding and development. Attempts at founding the institution which was to minister to the Indians around the San Marcos, Guadalupe, and San Antonio rivers were made already in 1688,⁴ but the royal decree of Philip V did not arrive until January 27, 1704. From Zacatecas, Indian missions were founded in Nayarit, Monterey, and the present states of San Luis Potosi and Texas; among these last, the mission San José, now in charge of American Franciscans of the St. Louis province, can be considered one of the best preserved examples of pioneer social experiments in Spanish North America. One of the early presidents of Zacatecas College, Friar Joseph Guerra, broadened the curriculum to include many of the traditional seminary courses;⁵ probably there were many candidates for the priesthood among the resident religious. The buildings at Zacatecas were completed in 1721.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 87.

²Ibid., pp. 491-495.

³Ibid., p. 491.

⁴Ibid., p. 499.

⁵Ibid., p. 501.

⁶Ibid., p. 508.

The mission college of St. Ferdinand in Mexico City is, perhaps, best known in the United States, because it prepared the missionaries who pioneered in California. It was founded toward the end of 1733, or the beginning of 1734, probably by Father Diego de Alcantara and Nicolas de S. Joseph y Sandi.¹ Before 1742 its program of studies included the complete courses in philosophy and theology;² in 1746 it had already sent twelve priests into the Sierra Gorda region from which Fray Junipero Serra was sent to the Indians of California.

Several other mission colleges, San Francisco de Pachuca, whose alumni worked in the mountains of Zimapan, Hidalgo, the Colegio de Orizaba, the Colegio de Zapopán, the hospice of Granada in Nicaragua,³ and the missionary instruction center of Nuestra Señora del Destierro in Puebla de los Angeles⁴--all these institutions sent forth friars to conduct schools (casas de doctrina)⁵ as well as to preach, administer the sacraments, and induct the natives into the Christian Spanish social order. These schools continued to function until 1827, when the decree expelling Spaniards from Mexico was promulgated.⁶ The execution of this statute was accompanied by a great deal of wanton destruction which left its mark upon the educational horizon; learning and learned men were expelled. The 40,000 volumes in the Zacatecas library,⁷ comprising history, philosophy, theology, law, liturgy, mathematics, astronomy, geography, and poetry were scattered or confiscated. The famous Pachuca College, with its seminars and its conferences⁸ on the practical problems involved in civilizing barbarous tribes, was silenced; no longer were its missionaries ordered to found schools to instruct the natives in Christian doctrine, music, carpentry, tailoring, and the other arts and

¹Ibid., pp. 508-522.

²Ibid., p. 521.

³Ibid., p. 499.

⁴Ibid., p. 521.

⁵Ibid., pp. 522-590.

⁶José Francisco Sotomayor, Historia del apostolico colegio de nuestra señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, pp. 226-227. Zacatecas, Mexico: Manuel Ceniceros, 1889.

⁷Ibid., pp. 320-321, also p. 207.

⁸Estatutos y ordenaciones ... para el colegio de propaganda fide de nuestro padre San Francisco de Pachuca en la Nueva España, pp. 54-58. Madrid: En la imprenta de Don Benito Cano, año de MDCCXCI (1791).

trades that flourish in a prosperous republic.¹

We may now summarize the main purposes and activities of the Franciscan mission colleges as follows:

1. They attempted to raise the standards of the mission personnel.
2. They prepared candidates for the priesthood in the arts, philosophy, and theology.
3. They oriented students for work in the mission territory.
4. They taught native languages, agriculture, and industrial arts.
5. They built missionary morale and provided opportunity for case discussion of administrative and other problems by workers in the field.

As a sample of the influence wielded through these mission colleges the following statistics are worthy of meditation. In the year 1756 four of the colleges, namely, Querétaro, Zacatecas, San Fernando, and Pachuca had a total of sixty-six distinct mission centers under their jurisdiction; these were served by 353 friars.² In 1794 missionary graduates accredited to the San Fernando College in Mexico City had to care spiritually and physically for 8,431 Indians of Upper California.³ In 1806 some thirty-eight San Fernando friars were supervising the religious and vocational education of 18,727 Indians in the nineteen missions which then had been established in Upper California,⁴ under the leadership of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M., perhaps, the most famous alumnus of San Fernando College whose statue, incidentally, California has placed in the capitol's statuary hall of fame at Washington, D.C. Other alumni like Fray Francisco Palou, Juan Crespi, Tomas de la Peru, and Pedro Font distinguished themselves in writing diaries and journals illustrated with important maps and containing much valuable ethnological and social information about the natives. Graduates of Querétaro, like Isidro Espinosa and Juan Domingo Arricivita, distinguished themselves as chroni-

¹Ibid., p. 168.

²García Cubas, El libro de mis recuerdos, p. 94.

³Steck, Ensayos historicos, p. 66.

⁴Fray Estevan Tapis, O.F.M., "Misiones de la Nueva California," Noticias de San Fernando, MS No. 85 (Castañeda), issued at Monterey, California, March 13, 1807. Now at the University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas.

clers and historians. For a knowledge of early Arizona the diary of Fray Francisco Garces, O.F.M., has proved extremely valuable while the Memorias of Juan Agustin Morfi, O.F.M., are indispensable for historians of Texas.¹

That the three original mission colleges of Querétaro, Zacatecas, and Guatemala were quite successful in their objectives is shown, not merely by the results obtained in the missions under their jurisdiction, but is likewise gleaned from the demand made by ecclesiastical superiors for further colleges conducted by the Franciscans for the training of more religious and secular missionaries.² The founding of pueblos and mission centers was greatly accelerated and stabilized by the movement, since the friars were better trained and approached the task of civilizing the natives with understanding, confident in the efficacy of the methods in which they were instructed.

The writer of these pages was fortunate to locate in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, some very interesting manuscripts which throw light on the relation of the Franciscan houses of study and mission colleges to the University of Mexico.³ They are certified copies of letters and official decrees in the handwriting of Fray Francisco Ximenes, O.F.M., secretary of the Holy Gospel province, who attests solemnly that they correspond perfectly with the originals in the provincial archives of which he was in charge. He made these transcriptions for his own secretarial files on the second of March, 1770, shortly after the last of the originals was written.

On the third of September, 1767, Fray Manuel Naxera, O.F.M., commissary general of the provinces of New Spain, wrote to the officials of the University of Mexico asking the incorporation of the Franciscan colleges with the Royal and Pontifical University, so that both major and minor degrees could be given

¹Steck, Ensayos historicos, pp. 69-70.

²"Resumen para despachar el memorial adjunto de Fray Antonio de Sn. Buenaventura y Olinares de orden de Sn. Francisco," July, 1710 - November 14, 1714. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de Mexico, 62-2-29. Bancroft Library transcript, Berkeley, California.

³"Puebla de los Angeles Papers," fols. 114 (r.) - 116 (v.). MS of Fray Francisco Ximenes, O.F.M., dated March 2, 1770, in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

at the colleges in the name of the University. The letter treats of the instruction of youth in virtue and letters by the Franciscans in various cities of New Spain, especially, Puebla, Querétaro, Guadalajara, and Zacatecas, and requests that the courses in rhetoric, arts, philosophy, and theology, taught with Scotistic emphasis by Franciscan masters, be recognized by the university as worthy of its degrees.

The officials of the University of Mexico replied, on September 22, 1767, that such an incorporation of the Franciscan colleges could be effected, since the university is the mother of all studies in New Spain, and has already made such an arrangement with the Jesuit colleges. Further favorable reasons were given, namely, that the cities of Puebla, Querétaro, Guadalajara, Valladolid, and Zacatecas are so distant from the university as to make it almost impossible for students from those areas to attend, and that the guardians of these friaries have manifested their willingness to observe the university requirements for the certification of their teachers and the prescribed regulations for the matriculations of students. The matter of incorporation, however, had to be presented to the full university assembly senate and voted upon before it could become effective.

The approbation of the university senate was given on February 20, 1770, and sent to his majesty for final confirmation. The decree of this august university body (claustró pleno) as it affects the Franciscan colleges is herewith presented in a full but free translation because of its historical relation to modern procedures of college affiliation and recognition by state, national, and prestige universities.

Decree of the University of Mexico

I, the undersigned secretary of the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, certify that in the current volume of the assembly meetings, beginning November 12, 1760 there is a full senate report from leaf 234 (reverse side) to leaf 238 (reverse side) for action taken on February 20 of this present year, 1770, when there convened in the assembly hall of this royal and pontifical university with the Rector, the Doctor and Master, D. Juan Ignacio de la Rocha, thirty-five doctors and masters and among diverse matters which these gentlemen discussed and approved was one concerning the awarding of the bachelor degrees in the arts and theology to the students who pursue these branches in the convents and houses of study in the provinces of this kingdom conducted by the sacred order of our holy father St. Francis outside of this city, for which the very illustrious commissary general Fray Manuel Naxera

petitioned, which request his excellency, the viceroy, by his decree of September 3, of the passed year of 1767, remitted to the very illustrious assembly for their consideration.

And executing this command before all the voters of the assembly on the twentieth, the 10th of September of the said year, the petition of the very illustrious commissary was presented with the conditions therein contained. On the ninth of February of this present year a favorable decision was reached and confirmed by his excellency who ordered this decree of the university to be put into force and the said provinces notified and a duplicate of this account sent to his majesty (whom God prosper) for approbation. This testimony was read in the said assembly and was heard by the said gentlemen. They said that these courses are to be admitted and passed as qualifying for the reception of degrees, the conditions expressed being observed, and with the obligation of obtaining the approbation of his majesty, as commanded by his excellency and recommended by this assembly.

Having determined several other matters the assembly adjourned and these resolutions were signed by the Rector and the Master, Don Francisco Gomez, as the eldest representative, all of which was done before me, the present secretary 23rd of February, 1770.

. . . . Joseph de Imaz Esquer, Secretary. ¹

¹Ibid.

CHAPTER XV

COUNTER-MOVEMENTS TO THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

Social movements, when viewed in perspective, seem to present the harmonies of progressive development. But, most of them are born in conflict and thrive on opposition, because the crusading spirit tends to languish when counter-movements are absent. Since religion was the backbone of the new social order which the Spaniards sought to substitute for the Indian culture of the New World, much of the opposition was naturally religious in nature. In the New Galicia uprising (1540-1541) and in the very successful Pueblo revolt in New Mexico (1680) churches and chalices were desecrated, priests were massacred (some twenty-one were martyred apparently "in odium fidei" during the Pueblo revolt), the sacraments were profaned, by washing in the river the natives sought to undo the effects of baptism, custodians and governors were mocked, haciendas, farms, and pueblos were destroyed, wheat, considered essential to the health of the Europeans, was burned.¹

Prescinding from the physical force used by the Spanish conquerors, the educational efforts of the missionaries had been concentrated on dealing a body-blow to the whole structure of the native society, since, in Indian life, the secular aspects could not be divided from the religious superstitions, dances, and societal organizations, such as the polygamous family. Furthermore, even though Franciscans, like Sahagun, were students of ethnology and archeology, the missionaries at times showed insufficient understanding and tolerance in their fight on the old order by making martyrs out of the medicine men and native chief-

¹Charles Wilson Hackett and Charmion Clair Shelby, Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682, Part II, pp. 3 et seq., 310. Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press, 1942; "Report of the Viceroy to the King, Mexico, Feb. 28, 1681," Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara, 67-3-32. Transcribed by Bandelier, IX, 112. Latin American Library, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

tains, who held the lucrative power controls and resented their loss to foreigners. In their fight on the old native priesthood through their sermons and schools, many of the friars sought too forcefully to eradicate harmless practices, such as the rain dance, which more ethnologically minded missionaries would have Christianized. Their complete repudiation of the class system in the societal structure was too hasty and antagonized rather than democratized.

This chapter will attempt to select certain definite instances of Indian revolt against the teachings of the Franciscans. Such insurrections were often just a part of the general Indian counter-movement to the new social order, but, in as far as Christianity was the foundation stone of the then existing European culture, they deserve special attention. In some instances the friars were forced to modify both method and content of instruction, while in other cases, like the Guale counter-movement in Georgia, they stood firm in their insistence on the social institution of monogamy, even though it meant the apostasy of the Indians and the death of four Franciscan priests and one lay-brother; these were killed by the Guale tribe in 1597.¹ It is at times very difficult to judge whether the friars were the victims of a fanatical hatred on the part of chieftains who saw their own influence wane, or whether, at times, they were more zealous than prudent in their attempts to change barbarian behavior, or, finally, whether they suffered martyrdom in the strict sense of the term as "death patiently endured and inflicted in hatred for the faith."

Concerted and violent resistance against the implantation of the European Christian civilization seems to have been rather sporadic in character, restricted to certain sectors and times.² Only inertia or passive resistance of an involuntary type was noticeable on the plateaus of Anahuac and Michoacán,³ while,

¹Marion A. Habig, O.F.M., Heroes of the Cross: Franciscan Martyrs of North America, pp. 58-63. New York: Fortuny's, 1939; Luis Geronimo Oré, O.F.M., The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616). Written in 1604-1605. Translated and annotated by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. In Franciscan Studies No. 18. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936.

²Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle," p. 311.

³Motolinia, Historia, II, chap. 1, 99.

contrariwise, on the vast plains of northwest Mexico and the western Sierra Madres, inhabited by the more ferocious tribes, quite a number of Franciscans lost their lives in partially successful attempts to win over a percentage of the natives.¹ But even here we have only individual intermittent instances of physical attack. The Mixton rebellion of 1541, however, was entirely different. It was a premeditated and concerted movement by the New Galician Indians, not merely against the loss of tribal freedom, but also against the European culture; it became a long standing counter-attack not only against Spain, but also against the teachings of the Franciscans. The same was true of the Pueblo revolt in New Mexico in 1680, when the Spaniards were driven back to El Paso for an extended period of some twelve years. In both counter-movements the natives took up arms to defend the culture they inherited from their ancestors against the inroads of the new social order. They destroyed the churches and schools of the missions, killed the personnel, returned to their pagan sacrificial rites and dances, tried to wash away their Christian baptism, and did penance for the time they spent in Christian worship.

While in some matters, as, for example, in their opposition to polytheism and concubinage, the friars were severely adamant, in others they allowed the Indians a certain liberty of expression and adjustment. Sahagun² tells us that the twelve pioneer Franciscans of Mexico emphasized the fact that the gods of the natives could not stem the tide of Spanish invasion. This at first resulted in a feud between the native priesthood and the chieftains, which lent itself in no wise to arbitration, for the friars insisted that all must adore only the Christian God.

On the other hand, the friars left the Indians their own languages, tried to Christianize their pagan dances, and Indian songs and psalms. At times they made the natives follow Spanish mores, trousering the naked, and feeding them on a Europeanized diet; they made them wash themselves and keep their clothes clean, especially in preparation for days of religious fiesta. Yet, some of the means used by the friars inspired fear and nurtured a se-

¹Atanasia G. Saravia, Los misioneros muertos en el norte de Nueva España, pp. 6 et seq. Durango, 1920.

²Sahagun, Colloquios, pp. 42-46.

cret animosity. Thus the visual aids¹ employed in instructions pictured the terrifying torments which would befall those who rebelled against state and church authority, while children resorted to spying, and actually reported the existence of concubinage or secret idol worship in their own homes or among the chiefs. The severity of Christian living contrasted sharply with Indian lethargy and the laissez faire attitudes of the old social order; punitive sanctions, such as corporal punishments, were resented.² The church council of 1535³ issued strong pronouncements against polytheism and the mocking or ridicule of baptism, against the magic of sorcerers, who made up horrible tales about Christian teachings and practices, about the sacrifice of the mass, confession, the school curriculum, and wrote a blasphemous parody on the apostle's creed.⁴ These sorcerers, for whom the new civilization meant the setting of their day of influence, are perhaps more responsible than any other single group for the Mixton revolt of 1541 and the Oaxaca rebellions of 1547 and 1550.⁵

Individual symbols of pagan resistance can also be found in the literature of Spanish North America. Thus, one of the older pupils of Holy Cross College at Tlaltelolco, the chieftain, Don Carlos Mendoza Ometochtizin,⁶ who was received into the church by the Franciscans, was denounced to Bishop Zumárraga by his own ten-year-old son for idolatry and concubinage. He refused to send the boy to the friary school and, when the judicial process was started against him in the courts of the Mexican Inquisition, he became very obstinate and campaigned openly against the Christian culture he had acquired from the Franciscans.

¹Valades, op. cit.

²Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle," pp. 316-317; "Letter of Fr. Pedro de Ayala, O.F.M., to Philip II, Guadalajara, February 6, 1565," Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-18, ibid., p. 105.

³Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle," p. 317.

⁴Ibid., p. 319.

⁵Arthur Scott Aiton, Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain, pp. 140 et seq. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1927; Procesos de Indios idólatros y hechiceros, passim, Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, Vol. III. Mexico, 1912.

⁶Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle," pp. 320 et seq.

Ometochtízin was apparently well educated; cognizant of the variations among the rules of the various religious orders and the secular priests, he declared that, if each order could determine its own manner of living, then also he and his tribe could follow their own forms of ancestral morals, especially since so much debauchery existed among the Spanish soldiery. Having been convicted of offering pagan sacrifices, of concubinage with his niece, and of preaching heresy, he was condemned to death, but later seems to have repented. Just the reverse took place in Florida where a newly converted cacique was killed for having embraced Christianity.¹ His wife, also a neophyte, demanded that death be decreed against the murderers. Contrary to his plighted word, the governor sentenced the guilty to be hanged and thus precipitated a massacre at Santa Elena. The Quaker preacher Jonathan Dickenson, writing in 1699, who related that the Indian boys in Florida were so busy at the schools conducted by the friars that they could pay little attention to him, also reported that the man-eating tribes around the Cape resented the Franciscan policy of influencing the cacique to become Christian, expecting his subjects to follow him; as a result he reports the mysterious murder of one cacique and one friar.²

Certain mixed religion theories which are at times advanced concerning the resulting culture in Spanish North America do not seem to be based on sufficient evidence. At times, perhaps, the instruction given by the friars was insufficient, so that, as happens even among educated people today, some thought the Trinity meant the existence of multiple deities, but, in most essential points of doctrine and practice, pagan ideology and superstition was largely replaced by Spanish viewpoints, habits, and customs.³ That superstitions, sacred legends, and questionable practices still exist, particularly among the Indian race, in Spanish North America no one can deny.⁴ They exist also among

¹Oré, Martyrs, pp. 33 et seq.

²Dickenson, op. cit., p. 74.

³Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle," pp. 323 et seq.

⁴Robert Redfield, Tepotzlán: A Mexican Village, chaps. vii, ix, and xi. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930; Robert Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, p. 189. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

the educated of other races and nations. But, it has not been proven that they are more akin to paganism than they are to western civilization.¹

As already shown in the chapter on curriculum and instructional methods, an open conflict existed between the Franciscan schools and the pagan culture, because the former did not mirror the social order in which they operated. This conflict at times resulted in bloodshed. Witness the case of the Indian warrior who slew his child because the overzealous youngster destroyed the idols in his father's house, and the head-on collision between the social orders that occurred, when the pupils of the Franciscan school at Tlaxcala killed a pagan priest they found worshipping before his idols in the market place, and then tried to explain to their horrified teachers that they had slain not a man, but a devil.²

In Georgia, Lanning ascribes the Indian uprisings of 1638 and 1647 largely to the decline of the liberal Indian policy promised by Governor Ibarra. "As in all the frontier wars," he states, "the missionaries, being without the ordinary defense, ran the greatest risks; and in the uprising of 1647, three of them lost their lives."³ It must be remembered, that the friars wanted no soldiers on their missions; they frequently remonstrated when garrisons were stationed there, since they complained that the soldiers had to be supported by the Indians and often kidnapped Indian girls and women, thus making increasingly difficult the winning over of natives to the Christian social order.⁴

But there were at least three factors operative in the Juanillo revolt of 1597 in the Guale country. The young arrogant Juanillo, son of the chieftain of Guale, was deposed by the friars as head mico or leader of his tribe. Governor Canzo, who was already at odds with the Franciscans for having dismissed chieftains from office, charged them with interference in the secular

¹Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle," pp. 323 et seq.; also Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, pp. 141-142.

²Mendieta, op. cit., pp. 235-236.

³John Tate Lanning, The Spanish Missions of Georgia, p. 168. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

⁴Ibid., p. 207.

affairs of government.¹ But the friars contended that they dismissed him for insubordination and concubinage. Revengeful at being deprived of his position, Juanillo openly campaigned against the new culture, charging that the Franciscans were simply the precursors of complete Spanish domination. Summoning the chieftains of almost a dozen neighboring tribes, he inspired them to physical violence against the friars who, according to Juanillo, destroyed native Indian customs by not permitting them to live according to the mores of their ancestors and pre-Christian culture, interfering in their native dances, foods, banquets, fires, wars, and celebrations, so that the Indians would be deprived of their ancient hereditary skill and valor. He charged that the Christian teachers allowed them to have only one woman, and that permanently, that they could not trade wives, that they called their elders magicians, and changed the order of their holy days, and in other ways oppressed them to make them "fit for the Christian heaven."² True, the friars fought against polygamy, wife-trading, sorcery, occult magic, unsanitary diets, warlike dances, superstitions, and servile works on holy days,³ but, according to Lanning's scholarly analysis of the Georgia scene, the friars usually displayed considerable adaptability and tolerant skill in adjustment. "Uncompromising rigidity and dogmatism," he writes, "might have ended in complete failure; the friars preferred indulgence, forbearance, and at least partial success."⁴ This tolerance and prudent adjustment was shown in permitting social customs and mores, which were not directly contrary to Christian principles and institutions. Thus, the natives were instructed in reading and writing their own tongues; they were permitted to wear long hair, they could partake of their own foods, dress and dance according to their tribal customs in as far as these were innocuous. While they sought to educate the natives to adopt a peaceful, monogamous, and settled manner of living, the friars bore with even the cannibalistic tendencies and sought to encourage miscegenation to aid the infiltration of the new

¹Ibid., p. 101; "Canzo to the King, February 23, 1598," Archivo General de Indias, chap. 1, sec. 5, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 22.

²Lanning, op. cit., p. 84.

³Ibid., p. 85.

⁴Ibid., p. 74.

ideology. They did not emphasize Latin and Spanish, but taught the value of communication through the native idioms and counter-acted tendencies to idleness through manual activities in the workshops.¹

There were, of course, other instances of revolution and rebellion, including those of the Apalache and Florida Indians, the Pisones of New Santander, the tribes of Tampico, Coahuila, and Nueva Leon,² which resulted in the death and torture of missionaries, the desecration of churches, and the burning of schools and missions. But blanket explanations are entirely unsatisfactory; this is shown in the Rebolledo case. When the Franciscans reported to the king that Governor Rebolledo had tried to make the Indians work like beasts of burden, the Indians revolted. The governor blamed the friars for conspiring with the natives against him, but when one kindly Franciscan tried to quell the insurrection, fearing its extension to the church, he received from the natives "the astounding reply that they had not deserted the Catholic religion nor had they abandoned fidelity to the king, but that they sought only to improve their low state and relieve the continuous abuses."³ Thus, each instance of attack on the new civilization must be evaluated on its own merits to determine whether or not it was directed against the essential or accidental features of Christian Spanish faith and life.

The Yuma rebellion in Arizona seems to have taken place despite the very prudent techniques employed in changing the customs of the Indian tribes around the Colorado River.⁴ But a new Spanish government arrived to control the presidios and added to the burdens which the foreign pueblos had already imposed on the natives. Father Garzés, in a letter to his superiors, dated March, 1781, had words of praise for the nomadic yet intellectually slow tribes but feared the worst if they would be antagonized,⁵ especially since the bad example of those in high places had scandalized them and watered down their enthusiasm for Christianity. But, his efforts to avert the stroke of doom failed and the Yumas made no exception in their acts of violence against

¹Ibid., p. 77.

²Hill, op. cit., pp. 53, 102.

³Lanning, op. cit., pp. 205-206.

⁴Arriacivita, op. cit., pp. 504 et seq.

⁵Ibid., p. 505.

the messengers of a foreign social order; four friars were butchered along with soldiers and citizens while the children and women were carried off into bondage.

One of the results of this rebellion was a changed method.¹ The friars insisted, that from their long experience it was certain that bloody insurrections occurred only when the soldiery tried to blazen the missionary trails. Hence, when the Colorado River territory again opened to peace-time pursuits the sons of St. Francis were neither helped nor hindered by the presence of the Spanish military.

Again, in the great Pueblo counter-movement in New Mexico in 1680, when one of the rebellious Indians was asked to state under oath why the natives revolted, he replied that they wanted neither religious nor Spaniards; ". . . he said that for a long time, because the Spanish punished sorcerers and idolaters, the nations of the Teguas, Taos, Pecuríes, Pecos, and Jemez had been plotting to rebel and kill the Spaniards and the religious, and that they had been planning constantly to carry it out, down to the present occasion."² This resentment was apparently nurtured over a long period of time because this Indian, Don Pedro Nanboa, by name, was then eighty-five years old and declared, that since he was old enough to understand, his people entertained antagonistic attitudes against all who sought to destroy their idols, forbid their sorceries, and ancient inherited customs.³ The Pueblo revolt was truly a rebellion of Christianized Indians, but it cannot be shown that their motives were clearly anti-Christian; they were, perhaps, more firmly based on economic and political losses to be sustained in the transfer of tribal power-controls, than they were instigated by religious scruples. The masses were led by two chieftains of San Juan, El Popé and El Taqu, and had no intention of constantly remaining "with the apostate traitors and rebels,"⁴ even though the opposing leadership showed direct animosity to Christian beliefs and practices, and introduced obscene dances and magic juntas of which the masses

¹Ibid., p. 514.

²"Declaration Made at El Alamillo, September 6, 1680," in Hackett and Shelby, op. cit., Part I, p. 61.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., Part II, p. 239.

had become ignorant through the teachings of the friars, the watchfulness of the judges, and association with good Spaniards.¹

The Mixton war (1540-1544) in Nueva Galicia which threatened the viceroyalty of Mendoza was a counter-movement which began already in 1538;² it was due, in large measure at least, to the arbitrariness of Nuño de Guzman who introduced the system of encomenderos in that region, but refused to accept either advice or administrative assistance from the Franciscans.³ We can never arrive at a proper notion of important checks and balances in the social mosaic of Mexican civilization, if we oversimplify the workings of any single group in the societal structure, whether good or evil, governor or subject, parasite or worker, artist or teacher, warrior or friar. Yet, in this instance it seems that Guzman's toleration of harsh treatment⁴ in the encomienda at Xalisco influenced the natives to rally round the medicine men, not so much because they believed in their magic and superstition, but because they were definitely in need of leaders. Friars, who were powerless to assuage this enslavement, suffered branding just like other victims of the rebellion.⁵ The ancient ancestral gods were resurrected as an emotional shibboleth, were adorned with gold, and were said to have promised abundance in food, clothing and magic, victory over foreign intrusion, carnal pleasure and immortality to those who deserted, while curses were heaped on those who resisted the pagan crusade.

Its political aspects were veiled in the emotional cloak of a religion that had not yet been forgotten and retained its appeal with the older natives who lacked the more solid instruction imparted to the children in the formal schools.⁶ López-Portillo y Weber's rather definitive treatment of the revolt creates the impression that if the Franciscan method had been followed, Nueva Galicia would not have experienced the set-back; it would have remained peaceful and Indian education in the new social order would have progressed.⁷ The Indian of that region

¹Ibid., p. 309.

²Aiton, op. cit., p. 137.

³José López-Portillo y Weber, La rebellion de Nueva Galicia, pp. 591-592. Tacubaya, D.F. Mexico, 1939.

⁴Aiton, op. cit., p. 141.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid., p. 140.

⁷López-Portillo y Weber, op. cit., pp. 591-592.

was susceptible of progress, but, when attacked or maltreated, could just as easily become rebellious.

To interpret properly the significance of these instances of rebellion and counter-attack on the efforts of the Franciscans, who, at the time, were the only missionaries in most of the territories mentioned, it would first be necessary to divide their educational contribution into religious and political factors. But since church and state were so intimately entwined in the new social fabric, one can merely conclude from the evidence presented, that the Franciscan schools and other educational agencies were determined to deal a body-blow at the whole structure of native society. Yet they encountered much opposition in their fight against the influence of the old native priesthood, in their misunderstanding of some Indian ceremonies, as the rain dance which simply was an aboriginal prayer to relieve drought, and in their struggle against the clan and caste system and the communistic administration of property. Because the friars allowed the Indians to retain in toto only their language, but tried to fuse what was acceptable in the native culture with that of Christian Spain, the resulting civilization was more dominantly the "melt-ing-pot" adjustment variety than that of cultural pluralism.

Hulsizer,¹ in evaluating the curriculum among the Navahos and the Dakotas has made a plea for tolerance of cultural diversity, condemning the policy of trying to make the Indians adopt a white mind-set, while leaving them in a native environment, yet constantly stimulating them with the superiorities of United States manners and motives. The inner conflicts resulting from education in a non-traditional ideology even at present result in rudeness, resentment, and some instances of rebellion among these Indians, though extensive counter-movements are now impossible.² Incidentally the Franciscan friars are still at work on some of these reservations.³

Yet, Hulsizer's very tolerant advocacy of cultural pluralism has come at a time when not only the Navaho and the Dakota, but all United States Indian tribes are in a decided minority.

¹Allan Hulsizer, Region and Culture in the Curriculum of the Navaho and the Dakota, pp. 273-279. Federalsburg, Maryland: J. W. Stowell Co., 1940.

²Ibid., p. 196, n. 16.

³Ibid., p. 248.

But, the friars in Spanish North America in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and even early nineteenth century had to develop and stabilize a new society among a people who were on home territory and very much superior in physical prowess and numbers. Even so, they dared to build a new social order. While counter-movements against them occurred sporadically, they did not surrender their projects permanently even among the man-eating, naked sons of the mountains whose morals and mores they despised as antithetical to their teachings, but to whom they devoted themselves sincerely for spiritual considerations. Despite racial storms and frequent resistance, they continued to educate for the spiritual enrichment of human life, for upward social mobility, for an increased distribution of the best things in their view of civilization to the ignorant and prejudiced; in short, they continued, despite reverses, to patch up their losses and develop a new society without destroying the adjustable core-values and customs of the old social order.

CHAPTER XVI

AN EVALUATION OF THE FRANCISCAN EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTION

The best test of any venture is to be found in its results. Even at this distant point in time there are preserved evidences which will help us not only to examine the effectiveness of the Franciscan educational contribution, but will also aid us to validate the hypotheses on which the Franciscans operated when they chose formal institutionalized education as an important means in adjusting the aboriginal value system to the ideology of Christian Spain.

In the chapter on educational objectives a distinction was drawn between some four purposes of a general nature and six of a more specific character. These must be evaluated on the basis of modifications effected in the behavior patterns of those who came in contact with the Franciscan educational institutions, assuming, as we always must in programs of evaluation, that the differences between a person who has been thus educated and one who has not, are "due to the educational experience."¹ Tyler, known for his leadership in the field of educational evaluation, states that "generally, as a result of education we expect students to recall and to use ideas which they did not have before, to have developed various skills, as in reading and writing, which they did not previously possess, to have improved their ways of thinking, to have modified their reactions to aesthetic experiences as in the arts, and so on. It seems safe to say on the basis of our present conception of learning, that education when it is effective, changes the behavior patterns of human beings."²

There are other basic assumptions which should be recognized relative to the program of evaluation, such as the degree to

¹Ralph W. Tyler, "General Statement on Evaluation," Journal of Educational Research, XXXV, No. 7 (March, 1942), 495.

²Ibid.

which the objectives have been realized, the interrelations of changes in the pupils' behavior patterns, and, especially, the assumption that the methods of evaluation are not limited to written examinations of the paper-and-pencil variety, but include

. . . . any device which provides valid evidence regarding the progress of students toward educational objectives This assumption emphasizes the wider range of techniques which may be used in evaluation, such as observational records, anecdotal records, questionnaires, interviews, check lists, records of activities, products made, and the like.¹

To what extent we must assume the reliability of these various techniques suggested by Tyler cannot be readily determined. The technique employed must be appropriate to the modifications in behavior which are to be evaluated, and in documentary evidence must be conformable to the principles of criticism. No general statement will be made on the critical value of the sources hereinafter presented, but, instead, specific comments will guide the reader in determining the relative emphasis to be placed on the individual records.

On October 20, 1541, Geronimo López, an influential layman who apparently had an axe to grind against the Franciscans wrote a lengthy letter to the emperor in which he severely denounced the methods employed by the friars and the results accomplished by them among the natives.² Perhaps he exaggerated their errors and defects, and yet, as a professed enemy of the Franciscan movement, which was impelled by motives to lift up the Indians, his testimony seems not too impeachable. Among the "diabolical" works accomplished in New Spain by the fathers and brothers he lists the educational attainments of the Indians. He seems to have feared that such advantages ill-fitted the Indians to become economic subjects of Spanish settlers and made them, as he illustrates, somewhat critical even of the secular clergy. Thus, he expressly condemns, as a Franciscan error, the policy of teaching the Indians Latin, which, he asserts, can profit the republic nothing, and, with seeming zeal for the unity of the faith, chides the friars for instructing the natives in the Bible, since, in his

¹Ibid., pp. 496-497.

²Geronimo López, "Carta al emperador, 20 de octubre de 1541," Colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, II, 148-150.

opinion, such exercises will lead to heresy among the natives.

López details the third defect of the Franciscans in the following language.

The third error of the Franciscan friars was that taking many young men to teach them doctrine in their commodious and numerous monasteries, they immediately sought to instruct them in reading¹ and writing, and according to their ability which was great, enabled them to undertake the work of the devil in business negotiations; the natives understand well the letters for writing books and counting and the letters of diverse forms that it is indeed marvelous. They have among them many and great scribes beyond number whose writings reveal that they know most everything on both sides of the ocean and can skillfully undertake things which before they were unable to do. They have grasped doctrine very well and besides can read and write more elegantly than the devil.²

The reason for the unveiled sarcasm of this letter can only be inferred from other sections of the document in which López shows his contempt for the prestige won by the Indian graduates of the Franciscan schools, who had been commissioned to preach and teach the newly converted, as assistants, substitutes, and visiting teachers. The selection of natives rather than Spaniards as leaders must have irked the latter, because, thereby, the secular Spanish influence was inhibited and the prestige of Franciscan attempts to uplift the Indians through the education of their own leaders was greatly promoted. Advanced native education was, therefore, condemned as the fifth major mistake.

Fifthly, not content that the Indians knew how to read, write, mark books, and play flutes, clarions, and trumpets and the harpsichord and become musicians, they are taught to understand grammar. They teach so much to them and with such great solicitude that they have young men, in daily increasing numbers, who speak Latin as elegantly as Cicero. This thing has come to such a pass and grown so much that the friars are unable to accommodate the boarders in their monasteries and have erected colleges where these study and learn and are taught sciences and books by the friars The increase in this sort of thing has indeed caused wonderment because they can actually write Latin letters and colloquies, some eight days ago a cleric came to this house to say mass and he told me he had gone to the college for a visit and that there were about two hundred students. Standing and talking with him they presented such questions about Sacred Scripture and about the faith that he departed scandalized

¹As early as 1544 an Aztec (Mexican) catechism was a necessity because the Indians could read. See Civezza, Storia universale, II, 769, and VII.

²Geronimo López, op. cit.

and closing his ears he stated that the institution was a veritable hell, and that those who resided therein were the disciples of satan.¹

The same opposition to advanced Indian education on the part of some secular priests is likewise cited by Mendieta.² He tells of the visit of one of them to the college at Tlalatelolco, where some of the native students, showing more knowledge than prudence, corrected and ridiculed his Latin. It is not surprising, therefore, to find him opposed to Latin in the native curriculum. Whether the cleric mentioned by López was sufficiently educated to answer the queries raised by the students, or, being intellectually embarrassed sought to hide his ignorance under the false face of indignation, pharisaical scandal, and counter-accusation is unable to be determined from the records.

Viceroy Mendoza lists among the reasons why the college for Indians, which he endowed, did not progress as it deserved, certain jealousies and emotions (envidias y pasiones) which were probably long-standing and had their origin in the rivalries occasioned by both religious and secular attempts to seize the power controls as the new social fabric was being evolved.³ Priority of time had given the Franciscans the advantage; their educational program had given stability to the work of conversion and civilization, and they were loathe to relinquish to any European organization the place they had won for themselves in the appreciation of the natives and their ecclesiastical and royal superiors.

This apparently was a major reason why the educational activities of the Friars Minor were concentrated on the improvement of the native nation, rather than on that of the Spaniards, whose training and instruction were looked after either by secular teachers or by members of other religious orders such as the Jesuits. They opportunely accepted the instruction of lower class Indians when the aristocracy failed to co-operate and thus upward social mobility was advanced.⁴ The state recognized their

¹Ibid.

²Mendieta, op. cit., p. 417; Motolinia, op. cit., p. 215.

³Antonio de Mendoza, "Avisos," in Documentos inéditos para la historia de España, XXVI, 290. Madrid, 1842.

⁴Codice Franciscano, pp. 62-64.

work. Don Luís de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain and president of the Audiencia asked that financial assistance be given to the sick and infirm Franciscans and cites as his reason "we owe it to them because these same religious have devoted their lives to the instruction and conversion of the natives of this country."¹ The sons of the Poverello were to stake all on the final outcome of a struggle between a Christian native civilization or a Christian Spanish culture. They recognized two nations in New Spain and put their efforts for conversion and education behind "that of the Indians which is indigenous, and which is in its proper territory, where the Holy Gospel is promulgated to them and they receive it with great willingness."² Through a designed instructional plan they hoped to raise native standards of living; they themselves considered the Indians sufficiently advanced to do their own work for hire, and, therefore, condemned the Spanish policy of trying to make them a subject nation of slaves, by isolating them on repartimientos so that they no longer had free access to the monasteries and churches where they received their instruction.³

Already in 1562 Mendieta had condemned the encomienda system, which without modification would have reduced the influence of the friars of St. Francis who, he says, "are very much unappreciated in other regions but in these kingdoms possess the authority of rectors, or as they say, governors"⁴ He ascribes this prestige to the deep interest and the psychological understanding manifested by the Franciscans toward the natives, and evaluates their curriculum of doctrine, arts, and skills by

¹"Limosna á los monasterios de Mexico é Los Angeles de Sant Francisco," Lerida, Aug. 8, 1551 in Puga, Cedulario, II, 126.

²"Parecer del P. Provincial y otros religiosos teologos de la orden de San Francisco, dado en Mexico a 8 de marzo de 1594, acerca de los indios que se dan en repartimiento a los españoles," Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España, I, 163-167 in Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico. Editorial: Salvador Chavez Hayhoe. Mexico, D.F., 1941.

³Ibid.

⁴"Carta del Padre Fray Jeronimo de Mendieta al Padre Comisario General Fray Francisco de Bustamante," Toluca, January 1, 1562, Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España (1539-1594), I, 1-29, in Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico. Mexico, D.F. Editorial: Salvador Chavez Hayhoe, 1941.

pointing out that the Indians not only become Christians, but assume prominent places in politics and human affairs, by taking positions as judges, procurators, teachers of music, and secretaries.¹ The educational program, therefore, must have been successful and functional enough to provide leadership for the Christian republic they sought to establish among the native races.

Already before the first fifty years of the Spanish domination had run full circle, the accusation was made that the Christianization of the Indians of New Spain was no more effective than the conversion of the Moors in Granada. Valades, who as a former missionary in New Spain and the then procurator general of the Franciscan Order, was in a position to know what had been accomplished, takes issue with those who charge that the Indians are ignorant, indomitable, and incapable of becoming good Christians.² Admitting that the natives are not fit subjects for canonization, because of their superstitions, thieving, drunkenness, and licentiousness, he categorically denies the charge of mass ignorance, stating, that in their conversion and repentance, they are motivated not so much by fear as by love founded on conviction.³ Fray Valades is dispassionate in his refutation and admits that some of the natives revert to their idolatry and others lapse into heresies of various kinds, but from his own thirty years experience as a missionary in the territory and from the reports of others, he concludes that the majority of the Indian tribes were converted to Christianity in an entirely different manner than the Moors, and were found more tractable, more meek and peace-loving, and much easier to influence than the vanquished Mohammedans in Spain, who would not comply with instructions, except they were threatened or beaten. On the other hand, the spontaneous zeal of the Mexicans, Tarascans, and other peoples of the New World had to be restrained, since, as he reports, they willingly accepted the Christian sacrifice and worship, once they understood it, as the sweet and light yoke of God; the inhumanity of their human sacrifices became repulsive to them, though it took long, arduous, and patient instruction to make

¹Ibid., pp. 11-12; Arlegui, op. cit., p. 116.

²Valades, op. cit., pp. 183-184. ³Ibid., pp. 183-184.

them actually desist from their pagan rites and ceremonies. They adopted the Christian mode of worship and made many sacrifices to attend mass and receive the sacraments, distance and weather being hardly considered; they adopted the Christian mode of living. Monogamous marriage and private property, unknown to most of the tribes before the conquest, became permanent institutions, as is shown particularly in their compliance with the insistence of the friars that they restore wrongfully acquired property and make their wills properly and in due time.¹ He commends their solicitude for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the sick and describes their carefree and happy attitude in following the morals and mores of the new social order without resentment. The friars catered to their love of pageantry, music, and the ritualistic dance, all of which added to the solemnity of the church services, outdoor processions, and fiestas, and thus encouraged dispositions conducive to building appreciations and favorable attitudes toward a native Christian culture. The way they attended mass, made their confessions, and communicated indicate the real solid instruction they received. The priests testified, that, though the concourse of the faithful was great, the administration of the sacraments was made light by their knowledge and the excellent manner of confessing and communicating shown by the natives. Such a co-operative spirit was unknown among the converted Moors.

The liberality of the Indians in giving alms and supporting charitable institutions after building them, are further points of contrast to the attitudes shown by the Moorish subjects of Spain. After the religious had persuaded them to leave their mountain habitats and collect in cities and villages or pueblos, the natives erected under guidance not only churches, but other institutions of civilization, such as hospitals and monasteries all of which were educationally instrumental and effective in propagating the Christian value system and way of life, even in political administration and civil affairs.² Such was their faith in this new social order, that they held the religious who instructed them in highest favor, confidence, and filial reverence, running to them with all their troubles of soul and body, and seeking their blessing and advice. After thus evaluating the efforts of the Franciscans among the natives of New Spain, Valades

¹Ibid., pp. 187-188.

²Ibid., p. 190.

concludes that the latter made much more sincere Christians than the Moors of Granada.¹

The more or less secret visitation of Tello de Sandoval² (1544-1546) showed that the friars were consulted on matters of social policy, such as the Negro question, and that a great deal of their success was due to teaching. Soon after a cedula was forthcoming advocating separate instruction and community life for Indians, on the one hand, and mestizos, mulattoes and Negroes, on the other.³

One must be careful in evaluating the Franciscan educational contribution to Indian civilization, not to confound present-day findings in Spanish North America with the status of things when the Franciscans departed or were expelled. Redfield⁴ has quite correctly, therefore, spoken of a "decline" in Catholic life and practice since the secularization of Yucatecan culture, which, far from militating against conclusions reached in this chapter, seems to substantiate them.

Among the techniques of evaluation are included the records of products made. In the museum of the Hispanic Society of America in New York are ten panels probably executed in the seventeenth century by the Indians of New Mexico; these have been reproduced in this volume in the chapter on mass education and are of such design and motif, as to link them with the influence of the Spanish Franciscan friars who alone worked in New Mexico during that period.

The fathers were never whole-heartedly committed to insistence on the utilization of Spanish, except in such areas as California, where the so-called "digger" Indians were quite slow to master the reading even of their own tongue, and, hence, had

¹Ibid.

²"visita que el liciando Tello de Sandobal hizo a la Audiencia de nueva españa--cargos que resultan de la visita secreta contra el muy ill.^o don Antonio de Mendoza," Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Justicia, legajo 259 (48-1-2/24). Bancroft Library, Transcript by Aiton.

³"Zedula R' para que no viven entre los yndios mestizos, mulatos ni negros," November 25, 1568, Madrid. Archivo General, Mexico, Reales cédulas, Tomo VI.

⁴Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, pp. 262 et seq.

to learn the catechism through constant oral repetition. In many instances, especially at court procedures, one reads that interpreters were usually employed to translate the Indian idiom into Spanish. In the New Mexico Pueblo revolt, however, several caciques spoke Castilian with considerable éclat.¹

That the Franciscan College of Tlalotelolco for Indians was, at least fairly, successful in its training for leadership, is illustrated by some of the great alumni to whom it gave a chance to rise to prominence.² There were, for example, Antonio Valeriano, native Indian of Azeapotzatco, descendant of Moctezuma, who became a governor of Mexican Indians for thirty years till his death in 1604. He was a notable Latin scholar, rhetorician, and philosopher and taught the Mexican languages to Torquemada, the Franciscan historian; Diego Adriano, who published a grammar; Miguel, a native of Cuauhtitlan, who was a Latin teacher; Don Carlos de Texcoco; Juannes Badianus, who translated into Latin the Aztec Herbal of Martinus de la Cruz; Martin Jacobita; Alonso Vegerano; Mateo Severino of Xochimilco; Bonifacio Maximiliano of Tlalotelolco; Diego de Grado; Pedro de San Buenaventura--all reflecting ability and skill manifested by their gifted teachers.³ In 1552 an Indian graduate was rector of the college, another was a teacher, and a third was a member of the council.⁴ Emmart praises the work done by De la Cruz and Badianus in the following words:

With only a casual perusal of this little pharmacopoea it appears a work of great care and beauty. It is not only an attempt to set forth in orderly fashion native medical remedies with illustrations to aid in the identification of plants, but also frequently gives pharmaceutical procedures for their preparation and use.⁵

That Holy Cross College was at least moderately successful in its attempts to indoctrinate native leaders with the implements for performing the duties and vocational occupations of the new

¹Hackett and Shelby, op. cit.

²Mariano Cuevas, S.J., op. cit., pp. 218, 388.

³Sahagun, Historia, I, 81; III, 83 et seq.

⁴Codice de Tlalotelolco, loc. cit., p. 243.

⁵Emmart, op. cit., p. 8.

order, is demonstrated by the fact, that some of the Indian students were as proficient in their studies at Tlaltelolco as the best European students in the colleges conducted by all orders combined.¹ The fact that many graduates performed the offices of interpreters for the royal Audiencia, and served as secretaries, sacristans, and custodians of churches and translators of books and so on, shows that the preparation was practical. In fact it was too vocational from the viewpoint of the faculty, and many of the secular Spaniards looked upon the college as a sort of white collar labor supply market, in competition with Spanish workers prepared for similar tasks, and may have been a factor in the ultimate reduction of the college to the status of an elementary school.²

Graduates of Tlaltelolco, therefore, were excellent Latinists, comparable with alumni of Salamanca and Alcalá.³ As a result of their training, which, though liberal, was in a sense also vocational for them, they became (1) translators into native idioms of books written in Latin, and vice versa; (2) interpreters for the Audiencias; (3) secretaries and clerks to governors, judges, and other public officials; (4) judges, administrators, and governors; (5) sacristans and custodians of churches; (6) teachers of natives in public schools of the pueblos: and (7) teachers of native idioms to the new friars.⁴

After the epidemic of 1545, which carried away some of the most promising students of the college, the secular and religious superiors immediately set out to teach others, that the supply of trained men might not become depleted. The college had already then become the fountain-head for leaders in many distinct fields of civilized life.⁵ Here, for example, the missionaries found the masters of the Mexican languages, the authorities

¹Codice Franciscano, op. cit., pp. 70-71. ²Ibid.

³"Report of Visitador Juan de Ovando in 1569," Codice Franciscano, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁴Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, IV, 177 et seq.; Mendieta, Historia, p. 691; "Carta de Mendieta al rey 1572," Codice Mendieta, p. 178.

⁵Antonio de Mendoza, "Avisos," in Documentos inéditos para la historia de España, XXVI, 290. Edited by El Marques de la Fuensanta del Valle. 112 volumes. Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1842-1895.

in other arts and sciences, and the amanuenses and collaborators for the many books they wrote. In fact, as Sahagun informs us, Tlatelolco had one of the finest printing presses in the New World at that time, had skilled printers who taught their art to numerous students who in turn carried it into other sections of the country to help implement the plan for designed social change.¹ Both Motolinia and Mendieta comment on the successful results achieved among the natives in proportion to their ability and considering the fewness of instructors.²

From the standpoint of evaluation of the student's progress at Holy Cross College, Mendoza's letter to Charles V is very pertinent.³ Sometime in the fall of 1537, Mendoza conducted an official visitation and examination there, and reported that the progress was satisfactory and that the students wrote both Latin prose and poetry. The viceroy seemed so very well pleased with the good work being accomplished, that he reported to the king that the religious of the institutions were doing more effective work through education, than all the other religious could do in other fields of endeavor and that, consequently, more such schools for advanced Indian education should be established, including higher schools for girls.

Again in 1550, Mendoza reported to Charles the results of his visit and official examination to students at the college, stating that they were very advanced in both Latin and grammar, considering the short time they had been in attendance at the lectures.⁴ The Franciscan Provincial Toral, writing to Philip II in 1560, cites the great help which the college rendered in the

¹Sahagun, Historia, III, 84.

²Motolinia, op. cit., p. 215; Codex Mendieta, loc. cit., I, 178.

³"Carta del Antonio de Mendoza al Emperador Carlos V," December 10, 1537, Documentos inéditos del archivo de Indias, II, 199-211 (especialmente pp. 204-205). Identical with series called Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento ..., op. cit.

⁴"Carta del Antonio de Mendoza al Emperador Carlos V, fecha 7 de junio de 1550," in Arthur Scott Aiton, Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain, p. 105, n. 70. Durham, North Carolina, 1927.

conversion of the natives.¹ Again, Sahagun comments on the purity of doctrine which was taught for forty years in Tlaltelolco and on the graduates' ability to handle Latin, Spanish, and their native idioms, as well as their ability in orthography and belles lettres.² That the native students knew Latin very well, is shown by their impudent correction of a priest on a point of Latin grammar and by the Latin conversation of Padre Bustamante with the Indian Miguel.³ That they could speak Latin and Spanish with ease is also attested by the report of the visitation undertaken by commissary general of the Indies, Alonso Ponce, in 1584.⁴

Educationally speaking there was even a mutual conquest, because some Indian teachers at Santa Cruz actually taught young Franciscans, when their regular instructors were occupied in ministerial work among the people.⁵ Thus, the Indians took captive educationally their own Spanish conquerors. Some Indian alumni administered the college from 1547-1569, and produced works that reflect both scholarship and interest in the newly acquired culture; to this extent, at least, the friars had accomplished an important objective in developing individual and social responsibility of the natives for the preservation of this newly acquired social order.

In the less than fifty years of its existence as an institution of higher learning, Tlaltelolco, as Steck very aptly states, sought to elevate and fortify the Indian student in the appreciation and use of his own rights and through him influence the country not only religiously, but also politically, socially, and, if we include the vocational training which was given, also economically.⁶ In short, the college, in the brief span of its

¹"Carta de Francisco Toral al Felipe II, el 13 de marzo de 1560," cited from Roberto Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique, p. 265, n. 1.

²Sahagun, Historia, III, 89.

³Motolinia, op. cit., p. 215; Mendieta, Historia, pp. 417, 447; Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle", p. 266.

⁴Ponce, Relación, I, 22-24.

⁵García Icazbalceta, "La instrucción publica . . .," op. cit., p. 181.

⁶Steck, El primer colegio, pp. 51, 88.

existence, opened the door to a new and more abundant culture and civilization.¹

Sahagun informs the readers of his history that for forty years the students and graduates of Holy Cross College assisted the Franciscans in their work of Christianization and civilization, especially in getting across to the natives in their own proper idioms the Spanish Christian ideology free from taint of heresy, translating sermons and treatises from the Latin, and removing that which would sound incongruous to them.² Thus they achieved the purpose for which they had been educated.

If we include in our criteria for the general excellence of an institution of advanced education the factor of vocational placement in key positions, we will find that many graduates of Santa Cruz took over such offices in the new social order as were designed to mold and establish public opinion. By becoming teachers and interpreters, public administrators, and writers, they were able to direct the social forces through the agencies of communication under their surveillance.³

Another criterion of general excellence, which might be employed in evaluating the success of the college, is the productive scholarship of the alumni. Among the Indian graduates who deserve special mention must be included Pablo Nazareo who, in addition to being rector of the college, contributed to Zurita's Breve y sumaria relacion, being well versed in poetry, logic, Latin, and rhetoric.⁴ He also translated into the Indian dialect of Nahuatl the sections of the Epistles and the Gospel for use during the liturgical year, and, judging from a sample of a Latin letter which he wrote in 1566, was precise and elegant in style.⁵

¹García Icazbalceta, "Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun," loc. cit., p. 147.

²Sahagun, Historia general (Lib. X), III, 89.

³Codice Mendieta, loc. cit., I, 178.

⁴Nueva colección de documentos ineditos, III, 71-228 (siglo XVI). Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico, 1891.

⁵Mariano Cuevas, S.J., Historia, I, 201, n. 8; Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle", p. 269; "Carta de Pablo Nazareo, natural de Xaltocan al rey de España, 1566," Epistolario de Nueva España, X (1564-1569), 89-108.

Martin Jacobita, who also seems to have been rector of the college for a time, made a copy of Sahagun's Vocabulario trilingue, while Antonio Valeriano, the Indian governor, wrote an account of the Virgin of Guadalupe which has been translated into English.¹ His well-written Latin letter to Padre Juan Baptista, O.F.M., refers to a book which he translated for his former teacher, the Guardian of Santiago.²

There are instances cited by Steck which illustrate the consideration that the Franciscans had for Indians who showed exceptional aptitude for scholarship.³ Thus, they sent Pedro Juan Antonio to the University of Salamanca in Spain to pursue further classical studies after his graduation from Santa Cruz, and he rewarded their confidence in him by composing a Latin grammar, entitled Arte de la lengua Latina, which was published at Barcelona in 1574. Another very gifted alumnus, Antonio Elejos, was granted the rare privilege of entering the Franciscan Order in the Zaca-tecas province, of which he eventually became provincial superior. He wrote a book of sermons, entitled Homilia sobre los evangelios de todo el año, and a catechism, Doctrina Cristiana de la lengua Pima.⁴ Other exemplary products of the efforts of the Franciscans to use advanced education to implement their plans for the new social order are given in the Codice Tlaltelolco and include works by the natives, Martin Exicio, Juan Gerardo, Gregorio de Medina, Antonio Ramirez, Bernardino Jeronimo, Joaquín Josef de Castañeda, Esteban Bravo, Mateo Sanchez, and Bonifatio Maximiliano, who adopted the Spanish names of their sponsors and patrons. Many of these were teachers, writers, administrators, and counsellors who played important rôles in the evolving pluralistic culture of

¹García Icazbalceta, "Fr. Bernardine de Sahagun," loc. cit., p. 178; Luís Becerra Tanco, Our Lady of Guadalupe (1600?). Translated by Francis Borgia Steck. New York: Paulist Press, 1936; Steck, El primer colegio, p. 52.

²García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía Mexicana, pp. 361-363; Beristain y Souza, op. cit., III, 226.

³Steck, ibid.; Antonio García Cubas, Diccionario geográfico, histórico y biográfico de los estados unidos Mexicanos, III, 260; V, 529-530. Mexico, 1899.

⁴Codice Tlaltelolco, loc. cit., passim; Fr. Juan Bautista, Sermonario, prologo. Mexico, 1606.

Mexico.¹ The manuscript on medicinal herbs, written in 1552 by Martinus de la Cruz and translated into Latin by Juannes Badianus, has already been discussed in connection with the productive scholarship of Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, O.F.M.

Thus the Franciscans, by a process of selecting and training native leaders, actually engendered in them enthusiasm and responsibility for opening the doors of civilization and Christian culture to their fellows. Their trust and confidence in the ability of the natives was amply rewarded not only in its religious effects but also in the admiration and gratitude of the secular powers, who endowed and financially encouraged this important venture.²

The advanced education of the Indians was, therefore, moderately successful. Success must be measured on a scale of relative difficulty. In 1575 the Canon or Prebendary Morin³ presented a memorial to the council of the Indies in which he charges that the natives are phlegmatic curiosity seekers whose ability is elementary. Hence, he advised the Jesuits, newly arrived from Spain, not to set up Indian colleges for advanced studies, but simply to teach the natives catechism, reading, writing, singing, instrumental music, and the mass prayers.

Within the present limits of the United States, the friars also attained a considerable degree of success. Fray Luis Gerónimo de Oré, O.F.M., provincial commissary of Florida, writing in 1604-1605, states clearly that the teachings of Pareja and the other friars had already borne considerable fruit, since the natives no longer indulged in their "rites and ceremonies and abuses to which they were prone."⁴ This commissary of the Santa Elena province used the questionnaire technique in supervising his missions. From the findings listed in his report, we learn that good results

¹García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía Mexicana, pp. 360-362; Ocaranza, El colegio imperial, pp. 27-28.

²Antonio de Mendoza, Virrey, "Relacion, apuntamientos y avisos," Instrucciones que los virreyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores, p. 229. Mexico, 1867.

³"Memoria de avisos para el real consejo de Indies," Archivo de Indias, Audiencia de S. Domingo, 95, Mexico, No. 1841. In Hanke, op. cit., pp. 17, 80.

⁴Oré, Martyrs, p. 105. Translated by Geiger.

were obtained from Franciscan instruction in religion, reading, and singing, in building churches, and casas de doctrina for outlying territories. Fray Francisco Pareja, one of the definitors of the province, reported that many natives could answer religious questions better than the Spaniards "because the latter are careless in these matters."¹

"The religious," he continued, "never cease to instruct them." He denies that idolatry or witchcraft or superstition now has a firm root among them, and cites several examples which might make even highly educated, but "psychic" Christian Americans blush.

For instance, they never say, "By means of this you will be healed; if you do not cure yourself with this herb, you will die"; or "if the owl hoots, it is a sign that some disgrace must overtake me"; or, "do not cook the fish in warm water if it was the first that entered the fishing grounds where no other fish enter"; or "do not eat maize of the cultivated land where lightning struck, for you will be sick,"²

Thus, the belief in portents and omens, if we are to believe Pareja's answers to Oré's questionnaire, was done away with through Franciscan teaching, which had its greatest effect on the youth who ridiculed the abuses of their older folk, and refused credence to the vagaries of the ancient magicians and fortune tellers.

Oré's report to the king also contrasts the work of the soldiers and that of the sons of St. Francis, who have really been denied proper credit by government officials for having won the land, through bearing "the burdens and the heats."³ Each religious secured but three reales for his daily sustenance from the royal treasury in Mexico at the behest of the king.⁴ This was a mere pittance compared to their needs and the amounts received by the government officials and soldiery.

In Texas progress was rather slow since pueblos had to be constructed with Indian assistance, for which the natives had to be trained in manual arts. One must also take into account the desertions from organized community life which occurred when the soldiers in the presidio influenced them physically but not attitudinally.⁵ One cannot establish a new social order by force of arms alone.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 106.

³Ibid., p. 107.

⁴Ibid., p. 111.

⁵Arriavita, op. cit., pp. 329-330.

Sotomayor, in recording the results achieved by the missionaries of Zacatecas college on the principal northern frontiers, praises the heroic efforts of Fathers Margil and Delgado.¹ Despite the depredations of the French in 1718 and the San Antonio River floods, numerous barbarous tribes were subdued through the influence of the Franciscan missions on both sides of the Rio Grande. There they received an educational adjustment to western culture until the revolution cast its European shadow also upon the land of southern sunshine.

This educational contribution of the Franciscans was not merely religious; it included the political sphere of action² and domestic customs. Pueblos were organized, streets were laid out according to Franciscan directions, and the inhabitants were obliged to comport themselves as rational beings, eating properly, washing themselves, cleaning their living quarters, dressing properly, especially when going to church, and sleeping on elevated platforms and not on the ground, so that they would not become ill.³ The chapters on the schools at Tlaltelolco and St. John Lateran show that these directives were actually put into practice, while descriptions and inspections of mission sites reveal an environment conducive to the development of such health habits.

The practical experiential teaching of western civilization did not stop there; family life was not only Christianized, but it was likewise made the productive economic unit. Girls were taught weaving, cooking, and other domestic arts, while the boys added to their letters definite skills in carpentry, poultry-raising, husbandry, and agriculture. The statutes of the mission colleges insisted that the friars have each family become a self-supporting economic unit.⁴ This is also supported by the facts presented in the chapters on curriculum and instruction as well as in the products resulting from native industry.

The Franciscans also attained many of their objectives in the Indian pueblos of Guatemala, while the Jesuits were engaged

¹Sotomayor, op. cit., II, 203.

²"De la politica que conviene enseñar á los Indios," Estatutos y ordinaciones ... para los colegios de misioneros, p. 181.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 182.

in the instruction of the Spaniards in Guatemala City. When the Father Provincial, Bernardino Perez, O.F.M., asked for additional help to ward off a decline in services rendered, the king himself, on August 11, 1573, sent an order to the Audiencia, that they do not permit the monasteries of the Franciscans to decrease in numbers, lest Indian education suffer. In fact, he made it plain that "monasteries should be built in pueblos where they are not yet had, so that religious may reside there and occupy themselves in said instruction as they have done with great fruit in those parts where they have been."¹ Another letter of his majesty, dated January 24, 1575,² treats of the good example, virtues, letters, and grand services the Franciscans were performing for God and king, in teaching in the pueblos through the medium of many languages and in exercising a vigilant ministry; the royal treasury, therefore, is asked to increase the amount of financial aid ordinarily assigned to their projects. The king seems to have been very much interested in Indian education and reiterated his plea on February 4, 1583,³ hoping that the bishop of the region would also favor the project and expressing his fears, that if the friars were to be withdrawn because of insufficient support, the Indians would revert to their previous ignorant condition.

The Tello chroniclers of 1653, which treat of the Franciscan accomplishments in Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, and Nuevo Mexico, have already told us much about the curriculum and instructional methods employed by the friars in their educational ventures in those areas, but they are equally useful in evaluating results. Thus, they mention that in ten years Father Bernardo de Olmos and the lay-brother Francisco de Patrana had remarkable success in teaching the Indians of Xalisco the refinements of civilized life; when they arrived in 1540 they found these same Indians sacrificing human beings to their serpents and idols.⁴ Don Francisco Pantecat1, cacique of Tzapotzinco, was converted to Christianity by the padres and ascribed his increasing influence to their teachings.⁵ The work of Francisco de Mafra, lay-brother,

¹Vazquez, op. cit., I, 218.

²Ibid., p. 228.

³Ibid., pp. 248-249.

⁴Tello, Cronica miscellanea, pp. 341-342.

⁵Ibid., pp. 361-363.

is also warmly praised; he developed numerous natives into excellent organists, sacristans, singers, and musicians of great note.¹ A further accomplishment, mentioned by Tello, was the Franciscan ability so to change the social order, that hitherto nomadic tribes were taught to live together in fairly large pueblos.² Their poverty, simplicity, and tactful approach to the problem of settling these wild tribes after the manner of European civilization also comes in for its share of commendation; the ability of the friars to develop good Indian bricklayers and carpenters, while settling them in pueblos, is illustrated in the nine pueblos founded by Friars Pedro de Monte and Andrés de Medina.³ The pueblo organization contributed greatly to the stability of both family and community life which functioned as a unity of interacting personalities and mother-cells within the social framework of the new Christian order.

On the other hand, there are instances recorded in the Tello chronicles which show that in some instances Indians were found baptized, indeed, but poorly instructed, adhering to pagan customs and animal magic, while living with two or three wives. Such was the case, for example at Amatlan in 1620⁴ when the inhabitants were visited by the Franciscan provincial Pedro Gutierrez who sent Father Antonio Tello to remedy the situation; the latter found them quite docile, and soon had them renounce their pagan ways and espouse monogamy. At this time a great number of the Franciscans were creoles, native-born friars of Spanish-born parents. In June, 1691, the Holy Gospel province had grown to 775 friars, of whom 525 were creoles and 250 were Spaniards;⁵ at times the pure Mexican native attitude clashed with that of the typical European.

Statistical evaluation of Franciscan successes in the New World, particularly in Spanish North America, lacks reliability due largely to the dearth or absence of primary data. Ocaña,⁶

¹Ibid., p. 79.

²Ibid., pp. 562-564.

³Ibid., pp. 643-644.

⁴Ibid., pp. 820-828.

⁵"Diary of Padre Juan Antonio Rivera (1676-1696)," Pan American Union Bulletin, December, 1927.

⁶Ocaña, op. cit., XXVII, 225; see Mendieta, Historia, pp. 601 and 275.

commissary general of the Indies in 1635, in his report to Francisco Barberini, cardinal protector of the Friars Minor, states incidentally that Fray Martin of Valencia and his first companions can be credited with the instruction and conversion of more than 185,000 natives; some five millions were baptized in 1536 while this figure increased to 37,000,000 for all New Spain by 1635, of whom some 16,000,000 were probably in the Mexico City and Xochimilco areas. Without being unfair to Ocaña, one must not forget the very human tendency of manipulating figures to make superiors more willing to support the work in hand. Yet Fray Pedro de Gante, in a letter to his brothers and sisters, dated at the convent of St. Francis, in Mexico City, June 27, 1529,¹ writes that he and his companions had in that short time instructed and baptized some 200,000 souls. He tells us clearly the technique which he employed to achieve this rather phenomenal success. Since all had to be instructed sufficiently in the essentials of Christian doctrine, instructors were multiplied; as he expressly states, "we instruct the children who instruct the parents."² His figure, therefore, seems worthy of credence, though regular formal schooling was probably given only to the children. Prescott³ seems friendly to Motolinia's⁴ figure of nine million converts in twenty years, and while he praises Franciscan zeal and sacrifice cites Sahagun⁵ to show that the friars' success was, above all, due to their schools. Another sample figure is given for New Mexico before the close of the sixteenth century: 30,000 Indian converts.⁶

Parras quotes two letters, one written by Friar Martin of Valencia to the commissary general, Father Mathias Weissen,⁷ and

¹"Lettre du frère Pierre de Gand," Mexico, June 27, 1529, in Henri Ternaux-Compans, Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amerique, pp. 193-203. Paris: Arthur Bertrand, Libraire-Editeur, 1838.

²Ibid., p. 200.

³William H. Prescott, History of the Conquest of Mexico, III, 265-267 (Bk. VII, chap. 11). New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893.

⁴Motolinia, Historia de los Indios, Parte 3, cap. 1.

⁵Sahagun, Historia de Nueva España, III, 77.

⁶Ocaña, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

⁷Parras, op. cit., II, 136-137.

the other written by Bishop Zumarraga to the minister general of the Order;¹ both were written on the same day, June 12, 1531, and give us some understanding of their mass instruction methods which yielded such a large harvest for Christianity. Thus Valencia writes:

All the missionaries, including my humble self, having learned the various idioms which they use, instruct in them and teach the various natives the mysteries of the faith. The sons of the principal and more noble Indians give us great hopes for winning them all. They are educated in holiness of life and good manners in our convents. Some twenty of these are already constructed, while others are being constructed with the help of the Indians--who seem to have a singular propensity for this work. They build their own houses in the vicinity of ours; in each one of these reductions there are some five hundred, more or less.

Bishop Zumárraga informs the minister general that the Franciscans alone baptized over a million natives before 1531, destroyed some five hundred pagan temples and many idols, erected churches and schools, did away with pagan sacrifices of human hearts and animals; particularly worthy of praise, he writes, are "the ministry and instruction of these religious."² It is uncertain whether later figures include only Indians or are also meant to represent the work of the friars among the mestizos, mulattoes, Negroes, and those rustic Spaniards who seem to have settled by the thousands in the beautiful Mexican country-side.³ All these were certainly the beneficiaries of Franciscan instruction.

A recent writer, Wilfrid Hardy Callcott⁴ draws a parallel between the accomplishments of the Franciscans in early Mexico and the conversion of the Franks to the Christian social order during the days of Clovis. "The cynic wonders," he writes, "at the efficiency of the conversions, when the Franciscans alone reported baptisms in the Mexico City area to the extent of over a million in a matter of fifteen years just after the Conquest."

¹Ibid., pp. 137-138.

²Ibid.

³"Maltratamiento de Indios," Mexican MS 135, No. 1. In the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; "Ley 15, del titulo 15, Lib. I de las recopiladas, deducida de una real cedula de Felipe II, de 12 april, 1570," in Farras, op. cit., II, 251.

⁴Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, "Religious Conditions in Mexico," p. 236. University of Miami Hispanic-American Studies. Coral Gables, Florida, November, 1939.

Calcott, thereupon, illustrates what might be termed the technique of prestige: the friars would seek to win over the chief-tain or principal Indian in a certain region, who, like Clovis, would then influence his followers to embrace Christianity. Catechetical instructions, as already indicated, were largely on a monitorial basis.

Another difficulty which somewhat threatens the objectivity of this evaluation is the well-nigh impossible task of isolating the factors. While the writer has conscientiously selected only strictly Franciscan territories for the evidences of results, the reader should remember that, perhaps, other religious orders also exerted some influence on the natives of these areas; there frequently was an exchange of territory among the mendicants and the Jesuits, as the Florida situation proves. Hence, the Friars Minor cannot be credited with all the outcomes in that region, nor should one minimize the educational influences of the secular clergy, who came in increasing numbers after the first twenty years of Spanish rule in Mexico. Spanish soldiers, government officials, traders, merchants, and their families, certainly contributed their share, both positively and negatively, to the resulting social order.

In the custody of San Carlos de Sonora, in addition to the establishment of schools¹ it was found that the Indians of that territory profited even more from a modified type of collectivism based on Christian principles of justice and charity. Two days per week the Indian worked for his own sustenance, while on four days he contributed his toil to the common good, and rested on the Sunday. This social experiment was very successful in California, Pimeria, and Colorado Canyon regions during the eighteenth century and illustrates the type of agrarian economy the friars favored when private Indian initiative fell short. It was collectivistic in the sense that co-operation was insisted upon and that all benefited from common enterprises, much like our co-operatives, but it was not communistic nor totalitarian, since private property under Christian law was respected.² Most

¹Fernando Ocaranza, Los franciscanos en las provincias internas de Sonora y Ostimuri, p. 231. Mexico, D.F., 1933.

²Fernando Ocaranza, "Acción social de los franciscanos en la Nueva España," pp. 58-59 in Conferencias literarias. Mexico, D.F.: Congreso Terciario Franciscano, 1943 (editadas por Miguel D. Aguilar).

of these moderately corporate political and social organizations were fairly successful, though variant political theorists might criticize them for avoiding either extreme; yet Christian social objectives tend to follow similar middle-of-the-road policies, which recognize man's individual integrity along with his social responsibility. These human principles of the moral-social order were considered valid by the friars not only in large centers of Christianity, but also in the wild and barbarous sections of unconquered kingdoms.¹

The teaching of Spanish to the Indians was not very successful, both because the natives found it extraordinarily difficult and because the friars do not seem to have been too interested in teaching it; the Guatemala attempts failed despite his majesty's express command and the apparent Franciscan good will.² Limited success in speaking Spanish was achieved, however, among the students of Holy Cross College in Tlaltelolco, and, hence, the friars wanted even to establish a similar college in Guatemala for instructing the natives in Latin and Spanish.³ Whether the friars feared that the ladinos (Spanish-speaking Indians) would be too much influenced by the white government officials who thus could harm Franciscan influence among the natives is within the realm of conjecture.

The magnitude of the Franciscan attack on the whole social scene is shown in the following table which tends to support the

¹Ocaranza, Los franciscanos ... Sonora, p. 138.

²"Carta de Fr. Juan de Mansilla a S.M.C. pidiendo ayuda para la fábrica del convento de San Francisco de Guatemala y exponiendo las dificultades que se ofrecen para enseñar a los indios la lengua de Castilla. Guatemala, 8 septiembre, 1551," Archivo General de Indios, 65-1-17; and "Carta del mismo a S.M. exponiendo que tiene abiertas varias escuelas para enseñar a los indios la lengua castellana, y pidiendo se permita a los franciscanos ir a doctrinar los Lacandones, por no hacerlo los dominicos. Guatemala, 30 enero de 1552," Archivo General de Indios (sign. cit.) in three documents edited by P. Atanasio López, O.F.M., in Archivo-Ibero-Americano, XXXIII (1930), 425-429.

³"Carta del mismo al Príncipe don Felipe dándole gracias por cierta limosna que habia hecho al convento de Guatemala y expresándole sus deseos de hacer un colegio como el de Tlaltelolco para enseñar a los indios. Guatemala, 1 julio de 1554," Archivo General de Indios (sign. cit.) in three documents edited by P. Atanasio López, O.F.M., in Archivo-Ibero-Americano, XXXIII (1930), 425-429.

conclusions reached in this chapter. The figures are for Mexico alone and exclude all mission college personnel and sisterhoods. If we add to these figures those which have been cited in previous chapters relative to the mission colleges, California, Guatemala, and other regions, we become less hesitant to accept even the most optimistic reports of eye-witnesses and supervisors.

TABLE 1
FRANCISCAN STRENGTH IN MEXICO, 1756*

Provinces	Convents	Resi- dences	Missions	Number of Friars
Mexico City	20	4	48	513
Michoacán	11	12	18	254
Zacatecas	12	7	27	137
Jalisco	12	10	28	157
Yucatan	12	11	3	265
San Diego	4	..	..	250
Totals	71	44	124	1,516

*Antonio García Cubas, Diccionario geográfico, histórico y biográfico de los estados unidos Mexicanos, p.94. Mexico, 1899.

Those who witness the Spanish and Indian fiesta even in this distant day are intrigued by its simplicity, pageantry, and dramatic quality. Changing the substance of idolatry into a Christian worship and veneration, but retaining the accidental rhythm and ceremony, accounts for much of the beauty and winsomeness of the "Posadas" and "Pastores," of the Corpus Christi pageants, and the dances in honor of the santos. Fray Toribio Motolinia, O.F.M.,¹ explains this transition in terms of associational displacement which, of course, was most effective among the more intellectual tribes who could profit best from the instruction provided by the friars.

Espinosa² and other chroniclers have written at consider-

¹Colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico, I, 73 et seq. Edited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico: Antigua Librería, Portal de Agustinos, N.3., 1858.

²Fr. Isidro Felix de Espinosa, O.F.M., "Vida del insigne varon Fr. Juan de San Miguel, uno despues de los primeros apóstoles

able length concerning Franciscan success in shifting the environment and changing the social organization of less privileged tribes from their scattered mountain-hideouts to the more fertile plains and valleys, where they were closely knit into a community structure with societal functions common to the political units of western civilization. This fundamental change tended to effect an ordered existence among them, and enabled the missionaries to instruct them in the experiences and practices of Christian culture, thus lifting them above a life they shared with brute and beast to one more befitting their dignity of human beings. In the newly organized pueblos where Fray Juan de San Miguel showed his administrative skill and psychological insight, streets and public squares were laid out, and inexpensive but practical buildings were constructed by the natives under the guidance of the friars; the decency of their new environment and the inspiration of community life served to elevate the spirit and make the natives receptive to the influence of education for at least moderate social change. "Instructing them in the science of government," writes Espinosa, "organizing their republics, and providing them with masters of all offices, that they might learn them, the Tarascans themselves soon produced remarkable leaders."¹ This same social experimentation succeeded also among the Chichimecas;² once the political government was properly functioning formal educational institutions were set up in the various pueblos and were found especially successful in developing skilled musicians.³ The primitive tribes inhabiting the sierras of Michoacán profited exceptionally well by the co-operative or distributive educational opportunities provided for learning the building trades;⁴ in the pueblo of Uruapan, Fray Juan de S. Miguel called the inhabitants together for town meetings to give them some political and social education for insuring the stability of a novel undertaking.⁵

de Michoacan," *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de los apostoles San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán*, pp. 147-156 (1721). La publica por vez primera el Dr. Nicolas Leon. Mexico: Imprenta de "El Tiempo," 1899.

¹Ibid., p. 149.

²Ibid., pp. 150-151.

³Ibid., pp. 149-150.

⁴Ibid., p. 155.

⁵Ibid., pp. 155-156.

Espinosa's description of the houses and towns, gardens and orchards of the "kingdom of Michoacan," and, in particular, of the pueblo of Uruapan with its river El Poniente, from which water was channeled into the streets and dwellings, with its ornamental fountains, churches, schools, and hospital, attest to the effectiveness of this adult social program.¹

In Yucatan, even at the time of the suppression of the religious orders in the first decade of the nineteenth century, every Franciscan friary was regarded as a small college, or, at least, an elementary school for primary instruction.² In many other ways, also, the Friars Minor made their residences the focal points of civilization and beneficence.³

Palacio⁴ has drawn a rather interesting comparison between the Dominican and Franciscan solutions of Indian problems. The Friars Minor were often impatient with the time-serving policies of both government officials and encomenderos; they, indeed, pleaded the Indian cause before the highest tribunals both at home and in Spain, but, in truly Franciscan spirit, did not spend too much time waiting for the civil authorities to remedy the situation. They themselves did not scruple too much about undertaking so-called government functions when necessary, but endeavored to put their socio-economic experiences and political ability for organization into practice among the nations they came to Christianize. They first showed charity before they taught it; they ministered first to the body, then to the soul. The Dominicans, according to Palacio, were equally interested in the welfare of the Indian for his own sake, but sought to improve his condition by putting pressure on the Spanish monarchs, detailing the excesses committed against the natives by the colonists and pleading for charity and mercy, not only in the councils and the synods, but also in the presence of their majesties, threatening with anathemas and eternal vengeance the exploitation of man by man. Franciscans, like Juan de Zumárraga, Pedro de Gante, Martín of Valencia, and Juan de Padilla are, perhaps, known more for their action in influencing social change, while Dominicans, like Bartolomé de las Casas, Antonio Montesinos, Pedro de Cordova, and

¹Ibid. ²Carillo y Ancona, op. cit., pp. 47-49. ³Ibid.

⁴Vicente Riva Palacio, Mexico, a través de los siglos, II, 287. Mexico: Ballezá y compañía, 1887-1889.

Domingo de Betanzos are likely to have made their greatest impression in their writings and their pleadings for the exercise of humanity.¹

Comparisons indicate differences and thus illustrate the genius of individual religious orders in the Catholic Church. Contrasting Franciscan with Jesuit educational activities in Spanish North America, the findings of both Jacobsen² and Sanchez³ tend to show the Jesuit emphasis on various types of higher education for the training of leaders in the new society; the preference, however, seems to have been with the Spaniards and creoles rather than the Indians.⁴ On the other hand, the results of the present investigation show Franciscan emphasis in public primary Indian education with some opportunistic variants for other groups and under-privileged regions.

Making due allowance for the personal equation in the official and semi-official reports of Franciscan leaders to the emperor, it is evident that at least in Mexico a considerable degree of success was attained by the pupils who attended the schools of the friars. Friar Testera wrote to Emperor Charles in 1533:

What shall we say about the children of the natives of this country? They write, read, chant in plain chant and with organ, know counterpoint, and make books of chant, and teach others music, but especially, ecclesiastical chant, and in the towns they preach those sermons which we teach them, and they recite them with very good spirit⁵

The religious, apparently, took special care to teach the arts of elementary communication to the children and must have succeeded quite well if these same boys and girls could undertake a program

¹Ibid., pp. 275-276; Vetancurt, Cronica de la provincia del santo evangelio de Mexico, Trat. I, cap. i, Parte IV.

²Jacobsen, op. cit.

³Sanchez, The Development of Higher Education in Mexico, op. cit.

⁴A plan for the higher education of the Indians was given to the Jesuits. See "Carta de don Luis de Velasco a S.M." May 29, 1591. Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Mexico, 58-3-11. Bancroft Library transcript, Berkeley, California.

⁵"Carta de Fray Jacobo de Testera ... de mayo, 1533," Cartas de Indias, p. 65.

of parent education.

Other letters and documents, which are also quite pertinent in this chapter on the evaluation of the work done in Franciscan schools, have already been cited and quoted in the discussion on the Franciscan policy of mass education for social change. That things were progressing efficiently at the friary in Guatitan is confirmed by Fray Martín de Valencia, who wrote to the emperor in November, 1532, about the destruction of idols, the abolition of human sacrifices, the erection of schools to achieve more permanent results, and the scholastic achievements of the children, who often brought their parents to share the instruction.¹ But the greatest success of all was attained in the friary school of Pedro de Gante in Mexico City, from which numerous student-teachers emigrated to distant regions to organize and administer similar establishments.² The Franciscan writer of the document does not ascribe all the credit to his Order, but under God, singles out for special mention the emperor, Fernando Cortés, Antonio de Mendoza, and Luís de Velasco. While the achievements and influences of individual Franciscan schools was limited, the cumulative effect of all made itself felt from the West Indies to California, from Florida to Yucatan, from Guatemala to New Mexico.

The training of Franciscan personnel in the same territory in which they were to minister proved from its very inception to be a very successful experiment in functional education. Already in 1606 Bishop Altamirano of Cuba, while making his visitation of the Florida province, ordained twenty candidates for the priesthood, some of whom were trained in the Franciscan monastery at St. Augustine.³ The mission colleges, begun in the late seventeenth century, greatly accelerated the founding of pueblos, the erection of mission centers, including schools, and the systematic instruction of the natives in Christian ideology and the

¹"Carta de Fray Martín de Valencia ... de noviembre, de 1532," Cartas de Indias, pp. 54-62.

²Nueva colección de documentos inéditos para historia de Mexico, IV, 176-177.

³"Relacion presentada a su magestad en su consejo de Indias, 26 de junio de 1606," Archivo General de Indias, Section V, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 235. Cited in Lanning, op. cit., p. 152.

mores of civilized life. They taught the missionaries on the scene to meet the current needs, not so much by educating the immigrant Spaniards and their creole children, but by drawing potential leaders from the deeper strata of the native society, educating them to a higher plane of life, and thus bequeathing to society new blood and new life.

This was well illustrated already in the products of the St. John Lateran School. According to a document already cited in the discussion of this early Franciscan institution, the friars' systematic education brought about a social change in Indian habits of life "so that they do not become delinquents and vagabonds as before."¹ Besides teaching them academic skills, they diminished "those great evils which have existed and exist among the Indians and mestizos, robberies and murders and the forceful abduction of women and girls by the Indians and the other outrages and enormous sins."² Thus, concretely and designedly was the native social order influenced for the better by Franciscan education.

It was this systematic insistence on Indian formal education by the Franciscans which placed the Indians in the pueblos where they could be taught and become experienced in the ways of Christian civilization while gradually adjusting their native mode of life to European standards.³

The decline of Franciscan influence over the Indians was the result of an entire constellation of causes varying in both magnitude and intensity. The first of these was, perhaps, the interference of the government in the teaching of the friars;⁴ this was constantly resented by them as a violation of what modern educators would term academic freedom, and contributed to the

¹"La orden," op. cit.

²Ibid.

³"Copia del capitulo veinte y nueve de una carta que el Virrey Marques de Villamanrique escribió a vuestra magestad a su real consejo de las yndias, en diez de mayo de año de ochenta y seis (May 10, 1587), Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de Guadalajara, Est. 67, Caja 1, legajo 35 (Signatura moderna, legajo 68). Bancroft Library transcript, Berkeley, California.

⁴Fr. Martin Calderon, O.F.M., "Informe sobre la perdicion de los Indios de Mexico," Toluca, 1735, Mexican MS 135, No. 16 in "Maltratamiento de Indios." Unpublished MS in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

ultimate secularization of many Franciscan projects and the return of many Indians to their former environment and vices of homicide, drunkenness, thieving, and debauchery. The second factor was the bad example shown by many of the Spaniards who, at the same time, deprived the Indians of their liberty by enforced slave labor on their haciendas and farms, and in their mines and pearl fisheries. The third factor was the over-rigid zeal of both friars and officials in changing the social order. The Franciscan Arpide¹ makes the point, that too many Spanish customs were imposed on the natives too quickly to be absorbed by them in their indomitable condition. Hence, the job of Christian education, which fell especially to the Franciscans, did not result in a complete change of heart and attitude relative to the new ideology, because some ministers of civilization were too impetuous and unwilling to put up with the frequent lapses of the Indians into secret idolatry, lying, cheating, intoxication, and so on. Fray Antonio Arpide, O.F.M., who wrote his defense of the natives on March 23, 1753, compares them to the chosen people of the Old Testament who observed God's law for a time, only to fall back frequently into their old ways, seeking the flesh pots of Egypt and the idolatry of the golden calf. Arpide, however, refuses to blame the pioneers for any imprudence, because "the fathers were experimenting"² and had to begin with some method. They resorted to strict discipline, because the Indians were very much inclined to idleness; the results they achieved in teaching meaningful reading, writing, chanting, singing, and mechanical work produced a remarkable change in both outlook and skill of many, but not all, pupils in the Franciscan schools.³ Advanced students were taught orthography, punctuation, letter-writing, grammar, and some theology; some even became priests, built beautiful churches, and wrote books. Arpide himself criticizes the Franciscan methods as rather extreme and as a contributing factor in the limitation of success in the achievement of permanent social change, but warns against the unfairness of post-factum judgments by those

¹Fr. Antonio de Arpide, O.F.M., "Perdicion de los Indios de Nueva España, y sus causas," Santiago, Tlaxtepec, March 23, 1753, Mexican MS 135, No. 17. Unpublished MS in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

who think the friars were intent on making "political, urbane, and idiomatic Spaniards out of the Indians even by establishing schools"¹ for this purpose. In point of fact, the evidence presented indicates manifold adjustments of European educational patterns to the native or indigenous culture; this inter-action of social forces resulted more often in a Christian-Neo-Spanish civilization than in a mere transplantation of the Western European social order. Diverse culture contacts inevitably result in mutual modification of peoples, ideas, values, and patterns of action.

¹Ibid. Another section of the same manuscript (Mex. MS 135, Nos. 20, 22) expresses the hope that these praiseworthy educational projects be continued and extended to Nicaragua, Rio Verde, Panuco, and Tampico.

CHAPTER XVII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Many areas of living are today electric with the urge for planning. This trend, however, was not born with the impetus for post-war reconversion, but has simply been accelerated by the ideals of world reconstruction. The value of planning is in direct proportion to the worth of the plan and the influence of the plan depends on the force and methods of its implementation.

Seven centuries ago, Francis of Assisi presented a plan to the world. Woven into this plan were his social ideals. The practical application of this idealism to the every-day affairs of human living is the tremendous task which has been undertaken by the international organization which he founded. It was not merely belief in Christianity that the Franciscan ideal advocated, but the ascendancy of the living Christian in the social organization of mankind. Better times are to be created by better men and women, living better lives individually and in their multiple relations to one another. The inculcation of Christian values and the forming of habits which might grow into social virtues are not on a plane apart from the business of life, and must, consequently, be integrated in the more complete program of human betterment.

The Franciscans, who set both the plan and the pace for the conversion of an aboriginal culture into a Christian European order of things, took cognizance of the more abundant life in human affairs and attempted to raise and perfect them with Christian principles. They worked for permanence, not merely through sermons, religious festivities, and sporadic revivals, but through daily instructions attuned to human needs, carried on, informally at times, but more often and more substantially, through formal educational institutions.

Franciscan education in Spanish North America, functioning as an agency of conversion and civilization, is represented in some nine distinct institutionalized forms.

1. Aposento bajo or lower apartment primary schools at

each mission for the sons of the principal Indians; the greatest of these was Ghent's school in Mexico City.

2. Patio schools at each mission, intended mainly for religious instruction; these were frequented by the boys of the common people and the daughters of the chieftains and to a limited extent also by girls from the non-aristocratic Indian families.

3. Schools for mestizos, like San Juan de Letran, concerned themselves with problem children.

4. Colegios de las niñas, conducted by Franciscan sisterhoods for the education of girls and women.

5. Casas de las señoras, antecedents of the dame schools in New England, conducted by religious women in their own homes; many of these belonged to the Franciscan Third Order Secular.

6. Santa Cruz College, typical of Franciscan attempts to provide advanced education for the Indians.

7. Celaya College, an opportunistic development of advanced education for all in an underprivileged region.

8. Casas de estudios for the education of young men for the Franciscan priesthood.

9. Mission colleges, a co-operative education program for both in-service and prospective Indian missionaries and teachers.

Factual data presented in this dissertation lead to the adoption of some rather definite conclusions on the nature of Franciscan education in Spanish North America. First and pre-eminent is the finding that the friars of St. Francis were interested in the common mass education of a submerged race of people, not only for the good of both state and church, but also for their own individual and social advancement. This policy of mass education for social change differed from the contemporary European educational philosophy represented by the fashionable court schools and the private instruction by tutors; in Spain, however, the Franciscans were known to give reading, writing, and religious instruction to large groups who frequently assembled at their friaries. Perhaps they consciously transplanted this practice to the New World.

Secondly, on the matter of higher education, there appears to be less Franciscan emphasis for advanced schooling in North America than in South America; furthermore, after 1572 the Jesuits were on the scene in Mexico to take over advanced educa-

tion of both Spaniards and creoles, though they seemed to neglect the Indians.

Thirdly, Franciscan education in Spanish North America was quite democratic and opportunistic. It was democratic in the sense that the friars' program was all-inclusive, believed in intelligent compromise with existing reality, and adjusted itself to individual differences of region and native ability. Franciscan education was opportunistic in as far as it ministered to the existing needs which it found in the various regions of its influence, and created new methods, such as the Testerian hieroglyphs, to teach a new doctrine to an illiterate people whose language was then unknown. Reading, writing, and religion schools were universally the greatest need; when the mestizo problem became acute, a new type of school was born. The patterns of advanced education which were pursued illustrate a Franciscan sensitivity to the need for native leadership, not only among the Indians, but likewise among Spaniards and creoles, who, without Franciscan help, would have been deprived of specialized opportunities at Celaya and other immigrant centers. The friars most probably had not intended such activities in their original planning, but they were opportunistic enough to revise the plan to meet a newly recognized need. Their opportunism is shown also in the initiative which some of their leaders manifested in the implementation of the mission college plans; these institutions were designed to meet specifically the needs of certain regions by giving specialized training to fit both in-service and prospective friars for success in wrestling with the peculiar problems of their individual missionary environments.

The evidence presented in this dissertation is quite indicative, that, on the whole, the Franciscan Order accomplished with more than a moderate degree of success the educational objectives contained in its plan to Christianize and civilize the barbarous regions of Spanish North America. Through Franciscan efforts, changes in behavior were brought about in many and varied aspects and patterns of human life; these may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Mass changes in theological concepts through the teaching of Christian doctrine; for example, unity and trinity of God, redemption by Christ, sacramental system.
2. Mass changes in social institutions; for example, monogamous family, private property.

3. Mass acquisition of skills in reading, singing, and writing in Latin characters.
4. Local improvement in the techniques of painting, drawing, sculpture, and instrumental music.
5. Local acquisition and improvement of skills in architecture, carpentry, masonry, agriculture, and cattle-breeding.
6. Selective acquisition by the specially qualified of advanced training in Latin, the rudiments of grammar, arts, philosophy, and medicine.

Since the Franciscans were so largely instrumental in the attainment of these specific educational objectives, the writer feels justified in concluding that the followers of St. Francis accomplished also, to a more than moderate extent, the general purposes of their coming to the New World. These larger Franciscan aims as previously analyzed, were four:

1. The conversion of the natives to the Christian religion.
2. The building of a Spanish Christian way of life.
3. The promotion of social mobility among the natives.
4. The provision for more abundant and social living.

In this evaluation care has been taken not to ascribe to Franciscan influence the total changes effected in the social order in post-conquest times. The more than moderate success of the friars in their respective spheres and regions of influence has always been indicated together with the nature of the limitations, whether endemic or general, whether occasioned by others or by their own errors of judgment and action. Within these restrictions, however, it cannot be gainsaid that Franciscan education greatly modified the social order which the Spaniards found in exploring North America; likewise it must be admitted that modification and adjustment were effected in the direction of a Christian civilization which was stabilized through the intelligent choice of formal institutionalized experiences in the schools conducted by members of the Franciscan Order.

A complete history of Franciscan education still remains to be written, but, whatever the results of that research might indicate, the rich treasures of Franciscan educational planning in Spanish North America will be difficult to eclipse. Although the writer approached his study with open-mindedness, he had hoped to find evidence emphasizing especially the Franciscan contribution to the development of higher education in the West Indies, Mexico, and our Spanish borderlands. Though patterns of advanced education were not wanting, the bulk of the emphasis definitely

points to educational ministrations of an elementary character to those who were submerged racially, economically, and nationally. Franciscan attempts to make both the Indians and the mestizos socially mobile Christians were largely restricted to curricular offerings in reading, writing, music, counting, Christian doctrine, and some of the manual arts, industrial trades, or agricultural sciences. The fact is, that, in this field of research, more incidental leads can be found to Franciscan higher education in South America than are systematically obtainable for North America. This does not seem to be the case with other orders such as the Dominicans and the Jesuits.¹

But, the fact that some advanced education existed in the midst of this great mass educational experiment to change the social order, illustrates the opportunistic character, not only of the Franciscan plan, but also of the educational methods employed in its implementation. Throughout the world many submerged classes and nations still exist largely ignorant or quite indifferent to the Christian social order. To all these, of course, Franciscan missionaries have been sent; sisterhoods have organized schools and hospitals, and many of the beneficiaries have adopted the ideology and practiced the habits of Christian living.

An analogy exists between the educational situations of Spanish North America in the post-conquest period and various areas of modern life. The results achieved by the educational efforts of the Franciscans in the first instance might be duplicated in the second. The Order's contribution to equalizing educational opportunity² would re-interpret and continue a Franciscan tradition which, as documentarily illustrated in this study, promoted more abundant living, upward social mobility, and a more equitable distribution of the good things of life to a greater number of people. The building of a more Christian social order could well result from an objectively conceived and realistically administered program of secondary and higher education for the under-privileged. Just as Bishop Zumárraga and the other friars of Mexico and the borderlands made extensive use of the latest educational techniques and inventions, such as printing and visual

¹Jacobsen, op. cit.

²Newton Edwards, Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1939.

aids, and just as they closely associated productive scholarship with teaching, so also must modern friars meet the challenge of the times, opportunely employing the newest and most efficient educational techniques to sensitize themselves to areas of need where their teaching services will most contribute to Christian social gains.

This study of three centuries of Franciscan education in Spanish North America carries the two-fold general implication, namely, that Franciscan educational policy was vitally interested both in the improvement of the quality of individual living and also in the democratic ideals and processes of societal advancement in line with a planned Christian civilization. Franciscan schools functioned well in both these lines of endeavor. This fact merits the attention of social and educational planners who believe that the school is something more than the mirror or weather vane of the society in which it exists. Especially Franciscan leaders, alert to this tradition, might study these general implications further and particularize them for future action in analogous areas of operation. Franciscan conscious planning and strategic adaptation of personnel, resources, and dynamics to the specific needs of the modern Christian social order have their inspiration in the Order's accomplishments in Spanish North America. One of its primary and traditional instruments for improving the quality of individual and social living was formal institutionalized planned education.

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